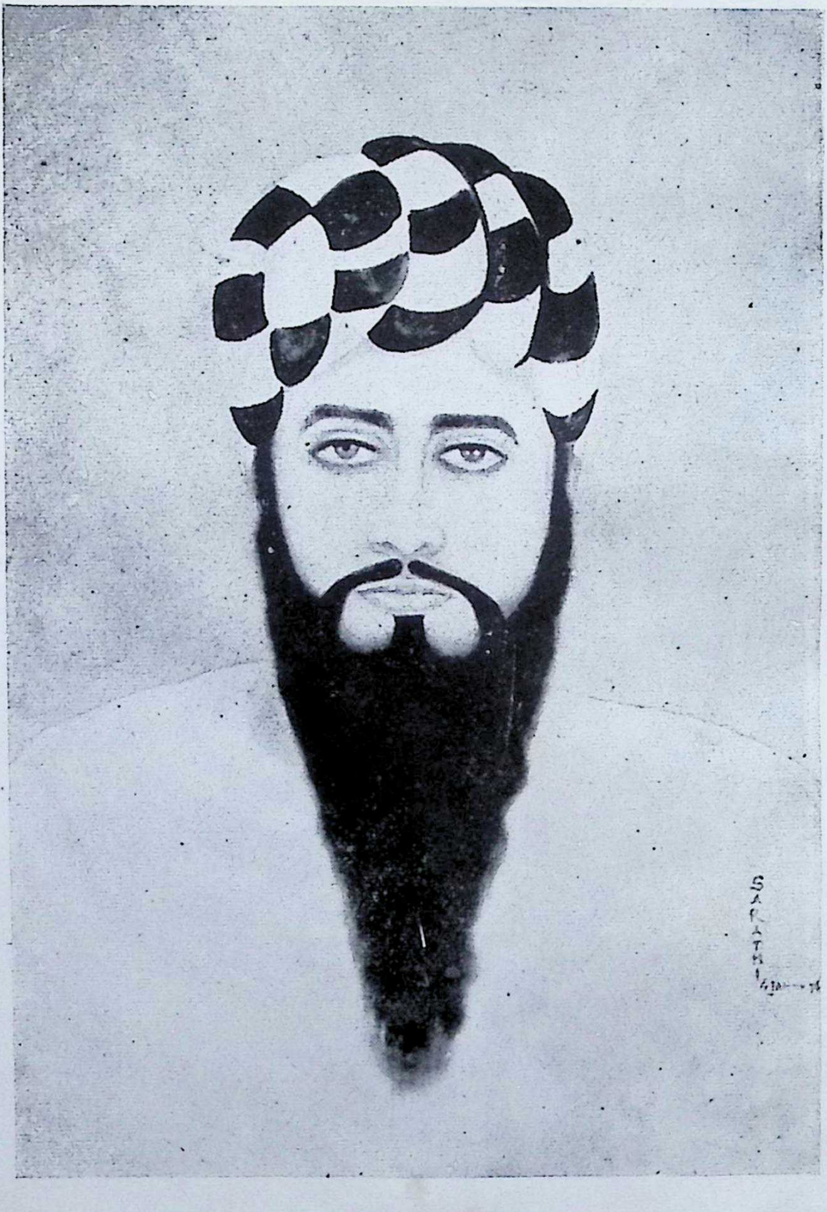
SULTAN ZAIN-UL-ABIDIN OF KASHMIR

An Age of Enlightenment

N. K. ZUTSHI

If Kashmir had the historian of Kalhana's celebrity, the conqueror of Lalitaditya's prowess, the University of Naushahr of the class of Taksasila, it produced a monarch too of the excellency of Akbar embodying the highest spirit of humanism and of religious tolerance. It would be a mistake to regard them as mere accidents of history. They were the veritable manifestations as much of Kashmir's total heritage as of their marvellous individual efforts. This monarch was Zain-ul-Abidin who rightfully claims to rub shoulders with Akbar and others of his class as one of the world's most remarkable rulers. He transcended the narrow frontiers of religious orthodoxy and brought the diverse religions and ethnic groups to an amazingly close contact. This contact found its glorious expression in the social and intellectual relationship, and in their mutual understanding.

Rs. 60



ZAIN-UL-ABIDIN
(1401—1470 A.D.)

SULTAN ZAIN-UL-ABIDIN OF KASHMIR

AN AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

By
N.K. Zutshi
M.A., PH.D.
Department of History
University of Jammu

1976

NUPUR PRAKASHAN
JAMMU LUCKNOW
INDIA

First Published December 1976
@ N.K. Zutshi

Based on a Thesis approved by the University of Lucknow for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1975.

463

Price : Rs. 60.00

PRINTED IN INDIA

Published by Dr. Urmila Zutshi for Nupur Prakashan, Ayodhya House, 4, Valmiki Marg, Lucknow. Printed at tho Indian National Press, Pratap Road, Jullundur City.

CONTENTS

Preface iv

Abbreviations vii

CHAPTER

I. Foundation of Muslim Rule in Kashmir ... 1

II. Shahi Khan's Early Career and Accession ... 24

III. Foreign Affairs ... 42

IV. Religious Policy ... 66

V. Administrative Structure ... 91

VI. Reforms and Public Works ... 115

VII. Rebellions and the Closing Years ... 152

VIII. Society and Culture ... 173

IX. Epilogue ... 212

Appendices ... 224

Bibliography ... 231

Index ... 239

PREFACE

Kashmir has been one of the most celebrated lands in the world. While her grandeur and beauty have brought to her ceaseless praise from poets and travellers, she has herself witnessed at times glorious epochs of high endeavour and considerable achievements by her people on the social, cultural and political planes. If Kashmir had the historian of Kalhana's celebrity, the conqueror of Lalitaditya's prowess, the University of Naushahr of the class of Taksasila, it gave birth to a monarch too of the excellency of Akbar embodying thc highest spirit of humanism and of religious tolerance. It would be a mistake to regard them as mere accidents of history. They were the veritable manifestations as much of Kashmir's total heritage as of their marvellous individual efforts. This monarch was Zain-ul-Abidin, who rightfully claims to rub shoulders with Akbar and others of his class as one of the world's most remarkable rulers. He transcended the narrow frontiers of religious orthodoxy and brought the two major communities—Hindus and Muslims—the relations between whom have been a perpetual theme of Indo-Islamic history, to an amazingly close contact. This contact found its expression in the social and intellectual relationship, and in their mutual understanding.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, for some unknown reasons, has so far not received the attention he deserves at the hands of scholars. Modern authors like G.M.D. Sufi, R.K. Parmu, P.N.K. Bamzai and Mohibbul Hasan were hardly expected to do full justice to this monarch, for his reign forms only a part of the general account of one or more periods of Kashmir history in their works. A monograph, which this work endeavours to present, was therefore a long-felt need. A serious drawback which one faces in presenting an account of the Sultanate period of Kashmir history, as of Delhi, is the paucity of historical material. The present author has tried his utmost to collect and utilize whatever material was available in Sanskrit, Persian and Kashmiri languages, and he has also extracted information from archaeological remains, buildings, inscriptions, and coins. In Zain-ul-Abidin's time a number of works of both historical and literary importance were composed in the three languages. While the Sanskrit chronicles of Jonaraja and Srivara are extant, the historical works of Maulana Nadiri, Maulana Ahmad, Pandit Notthasoma, Avatara Bhatta and Yodha Bhatta appear to have perished. For the account of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign, one has to depend chiefly on the chronicles of Jonaraja and of Srivara. If Sultan Muhammad Tughluq of Delhi had Barani and Ibn Batuta, he had no Abul Fazl to help modern scholars in the projection of the monarch's complete personality. While Zain-ul-Abidin had his Abul Fazls, he had no Barani or Badauni to give us eye-witness accounts for a total view of the Sultan in full light and shade. The deficiency is, however, made good to a reasonable extent by the accounts of later Persian writers, the more distinguished of whom were Firishta, Nizamuddin, Abul Fazl, Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Emperor Jahangir, Badauni, Haidar Malik, Sayyid Ali, Hasan b. Ali Kashmiri, and the unknown author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*. Since their accounts were based on contemporary evidence, they have great original as well as corroborative importance. The Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Jonaraja and Srivara was the embodiment of the highest ideals of kingship. So is also the picture that emerges from the later works. Hence we stand on a somewhat judicious ground in giving a balanced view of Zain-ul-Abidin's achievements as a man and a ruler. However, for the historical sketch of society and culture of Zain-ul-Abidin's age, some new contemporary sources have been utilised for the first time by the present author. They are *Sangit Sangrah* of Srivaka in Sanskrit, *Sukhdukh Mohamayajal Charitam* of Ganak Prashast, and *Banasurakatha* of Avatara Bhatta, both in Kashmiri.

I now take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. R.N. Nagar, formerly Head of the Department of Medieval and Modern Indian History, Lucknow University, for exercising patient and able supervision in the preparation and completion of my work. I also place on record my grateful thanks to Srikanth Kaul, the Editor of the texts of Jonaraja and Srivara, and Dr. K.N. Pandita of the Persian Department of Kashmir University for having interpreted for me intricate portions of the Sanskrit and Persian texts respectively. My sincere thanks are also due to Sarvashri Muhammad Amin Mahjoor, Dina Nath Kaul, Muhammad Amin Rafiqi, all of of them belonging to the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, and Shri Y.N. Madan, Srinagar, Dr. B.K. Deambi, Gandhi Memorial College, Srinagar, Shri S.S. Toshakhani, Information Department, Srinagar, and Dr. K.S. Saxena, Ancient Indian History and Archaeology Department, Lucknow University, for their invaluable help and suggestions in the improvement of the work. I am also indebted to my wife, Dr. Urmila Zutshi, for her continued cooperation at every stage and for having carried out the laborious task of preparing the index and proof-reading. I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my thanks to the library staff of Lucknow, Jammu, and Kashmir Universities, Central Archaeological Libary, New Delhi, and particularly to Shri Autar Krishna of Research and Publication Departmeut Library, Srinagar. I also convey my grateful thanks to Shri O. P. Sharma '*Sarathi*' for having painted the portrait of Zain-ul-Abidin on the basis of features described in the works of his court-chroniclers.

Jammu
December, 1976

N.K. Zutshi

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Ain.	Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, Vols. I and II, English Translation.
Abul Qasim	Gauhar-i-Alam by Badi-ud-din Abul Qasim.
Badauni	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh by Abdul Qadir Badauni, Vol. I, English Translation.
Baharistan.	Baharistan-i-Shahi by an anonymous author.
B.M.	British Museum.
Bo. ed.	Bombay Edition.
E and D	Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians.
Firishta	Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. IV, English Translation.
Haidar Malik	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Haidar Malik Chadura.
Hasan	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Hasan b. Ali Kashmiri.
I. A.	Indian Antiquary.
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I.O.	India Office.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Jonaraja	Rajatarangini (R.T.) of Jonaraja edited by Srikanth Kaul.
J.P.H.S.	Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
Kalhana	Rajatarangini (R.T.) of Kalhana, Vols. I and II, English Translation by M.A. Stein.
Mohibbul Hasan	Kashmir under the Sultans by Mohibbul Hasan.

Munich Ms.	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir (Intikhab).
N.C.J.R.N.S.	:	The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society.
Nizamuddin	:	Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, Vol. III, English Translation.
Parmu	:	A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir by R.K. Parmu.
P.I.H.C.	:	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
Rafi-ud-din	:	Nawadir-ul-Akhbar by Aba Rafi-ud-din.
Sayyid Ali	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Sayyid Ali.
Srivara	:	Jaina-Rajatarangini of Srivara, edited by Srikanth Kaul.
St. or Stt.	:	Stanza or Stanzas.
Tarikh-i-Rashidi	:	Tarikh-i-Rashidi by Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, English Translation.
Tuzuk.	:	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vols. I and II, English Translation.
Yahya b. Ahmad	:	Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV.

CHAPTER I

FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR

EARLY ATTEMPTS

Within a century of its birth, Islam became one of the most powerful influences in the world. The successes of Islam on the political plane were so splendid that it enveloped with lightning rapidity vast stretches of territory in the regions of Asia, Africa and in the south-west parts of Europe. The earliest Muslim invaders of India were the Arabs, and Sind was the first to bow before their onslaughts. Muhammad bin Qasim conquered it as early as 712 A.D.[1] Kashmir also was not far behind in attracting the notice of the Arab conquerer, for soon his armies were rattling their sabres on the borders of this beautiful kingdom.[2] The contemporary ruler of Kashmir, Chandrapida,[3] according to the Chinese sources,[4] solicited help in 713 A.D. from the Chinese emperor against the invading Arabs. In the meantime, however, Muhammad bin Qasim was recalled to Damascus by the Caliph[5] and thus the Arab danger was averted for the time being. Later, king Lalitaditya is said to have repulsed an Arab attack from Sind under Junaid.[6] He too, like Chandrapida, sought help from the Chinese emperor.[7] It is not known, however, whether any of these monarchs ever received the Chinese assistance. From this time onwards Kashmir remained under the positive pressure of the Muslims.

Approximately during the hundred years following mid-7th century A.D., there was a keen contest for land in Central Asia among the Chinese, the Arabs, the Turks and the Turfans.[8] It is possible that Kashmir may have assisted China as a "subordinate ally" in this contest.[9] Meanwhile from the direction of Sind, the Arabs continued their military operations against the weak successors of Lalitaditya An Arab historian claims that the Governor of Sind, named Hisham, conquered Kashmir and took several prisoners and slaves.[10] But it finds no corroboration in the local chronicles of Kashmir. In fact, the Arabs did not succeed in entering the Valley, and the place recorded to have been conquered by them was not Kashmir but a part of the Punjab in the north of Multan, then under the possession of the Karkota rulers of Kashmir.[11]

The Arabs did not make much headway in India. Theirs was just a beginning, and that too an ephemeral one. Their work in India was, however, destined to be completed by their successors, the Turks, who had the will and the capacity in a much greater degree. It is not unlikely that, among other reasons, the imperial prowess of Lalitaditya reinforced by the Chinese help checkmated further westward advance of the Arabs who had already felt his might on the borders of Kashmir and it might also have caused them finally to abandon their projects in India.[12]

We next hear of the Turks, and not of Arabs, as invaders of Kashmir. The early eleventh century witnessed yet another spell of military expeditions against Kashmir when Sangramaraja (1003-1028 A.D.) was the ruling monarch. These expeditions were led by Mahmud of Ghazni, who made spirited attempts to enter the Valley twice, once in 1015 and again in 1021 A.D., through the Toshmaidan pass, but the fort of Lohara guarding the pass, as it did, proved impregnable for the invader, and Mahmud finally gave up the idea of invading Kashmir.[13]

There is a reference to another invasion of Kashmir with Muslim support during the reign of Anant (1028-1063 A.D.), son and successor of Sangramaraja. Anant is recorded to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined forces of a Darad ruler, Achalamangala, and seven *mleccha* kings,[14] who "apparently denote the tribal leaders living on the frontiers of Kashmir who had been probably converted to Islam by this time."[15]

After this event Kashmir had the good fortune of enjoying complete immunity from Muslim invasions for over two hunderd years in glaring contrast to what was happening in the Indian mainland. While the mighty upheavals shook the plains of India, Kashmir remained completely unaffected, and passed through an unbroken period of peace.[16] However, one of its kings, Jayasimha (1128-1155 A.D.) himself interrupted the long spell of peace by leading a successful military expedition against the Turks.[17] These Turks were probably Ghaznavites who, having suffered defeat at the hands of the Ghoris, were "fleeing towards India."[18] Jayasimha was assisted by contingents from the rulers of Nagarkot[19] and the Punjab.[20] It is recorded that the leader of the Turks, who was probably Bahram Shah Ghaznavi or one of his generals,[21] offered presents to the king of Kashmir.[22]

It is true that the Arab and Turkish invasions of Kashmir were only in the nature of sensational episodes which ended in failure. But the impact of these events and of Kashmir's encounters with other Muslim chieftains has been quite significant. They formed a bridge between Islam and Hinduism not only on the planes of war and diplomacy but in the field of culture as well. The Turkish soldiers impressed the kings of Kashmir with their fighting ability, and gradually found their way in their armies as captains in hundreds, and enjoyed their favours.[23] We have also references to Muslim chieftains fighting as allies of the Hindu kings in their wars.[24] The periods of brisk trade that flowed between Kashmir and Central Asian countries[25] brought, among others, Muslim traders to Kashmir in increasing numbers. The Hindu rulers are stated to have kept Turkish slave girls,[26] introduced changes in styles of dress and ornaments after the Turkish fashion,[27] and to have invited Muslim artists for purposes of beautification.[28] In the reign of Kalasha (1063-1089 A D.) an artist came from an unspecified Muslim country to "put a gilt parasol over the temple of Siva."[29] We have also the testimony of a late thirteenth-century Venetian traveller that Muslims acted as butchers for the Hindus who were averse to killing animals for meat.[30] A colony of Muslims had thus sprung up in Kashmir,[31] and Shah Mir, the ancestor of Zain-ul-Abidin, as their leader,[32] must have secured full help from them for establishing his dynasty in Kashmir.

Islam, however, in spite of early reverses, did ultimately acquire complete political sway over Kashmir by about the middle of the fourteenth century. That it happened not as a result of any foreign political pressure is a feature unique in Islamic history. Internal agencies were the powerful instruments which caused a revolution so complete and so decisive. The fact of Kashmir's easy transfer into the hands of Muslims requires an analytical survey of what was amiss in the socio-political fabric of the land.

DEGENERATION OF HINDU RULE AND SOCIETY

The story of three hundred years of Hindu rule in Kashmir before the advent of Muslims is one which excites disgust and dismay. Symptoms of general decay had begun to manifest themselves as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, when Sangramaraja had planted himself as the founder of Lohara dynasty in 1003 A. D.[33] The process of degeneration was discernible on every plane — social, economic, political — in varying degrees. Certain spirited attempts of restorative statesmanship were made during this period by some able and enterprising rulers like Uccala (1101-1111 A.D.),[34] Jayasimha (1128-1155 A.D.),[35] and Jagadeva (1199-1213 A.D.)[36], with partial or temporary success. However, after Jayasimha, the last Hindu constructive genius, the downward course was accelerated until the Hindu rule tottered on its last legs and dissolved into chaos in 1320 A.D,

The people of Kashmir, young and old alike, are recorded to have completely abandoned the decencies of life, and their indulgence in intrigues and dissensions, dishonesty and falsehood[37] did much to disfigure a cultured society. Laxity in morals had permeated all ranks and classes of people.[38] One of Kashmir's kings, Kalasha (1063-1089 A.D.), lived a licentious and perverse life which led him even to the extreme extent of violating his own daughter.[39] His successor, Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.), degenerated so far as to indulge in acts of incest with his own sisters, and also father's sisters.[40] The rulers were, for the most part, weak, inefficient, and sometimes even foolish.[41] Left with no initiative and enterprise, they degenerated into mere figure-heads and, played into the hands of their powerful ministers and feudal lords[42] who elevated themselves to the exalted position of king-makers.[43] Disruptive forces raised their ugly heads and royal dissensions, conspiracies, rebellions and internecine wars became matters of common occurrence which plunged the country into chaos.[44] Kashmir thus became a country with "robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure."[45] In such circumstances, the law and order machinery could hardly be maintained, and people's life and property became unsafe. People were subjected to inhuman cruelties and economic exploitation by the rapacious ministers and state officials.[46] The latter misappropriated state property, looted temple wealth, and extorted cash and articles from the villagers.[47] People groaned under heavy, and sometimes, inequitous exactions.[48] Frequent rebellions and civil wars disrupted internal trade, and there were moments when foreign trade came to a complete halt.[49] Kalhana also refers to the greed and corrupt practices of the merchant class.[50]

The dwindling resources and luxurious habits of the kings depleted the state treasuries of Kashmir and bankruptcy often stared them in their face. One of its kings, Ananta (1028-1063 A. D.) who was under heavy debt, is recorded by Kalhana[51] to have pledged both his diadem and his throne to a foreign merchant. The last Hindu king, Suhadeva (1301-1320 A.D.), is described as "a *Rakshasa* who, on the pretext of protecting his country, devoured Kashmir for about nineteen years."[52] And if Kashmir fell an easy prey to foreign adventurists, as the subsequent events would show, it was not all surprising. It was a dark period for Kashmir, but its monotonous gloom was occasionally broken by flashes of political insight and wisdom of some able rulers, but soon it lapsed again into the accumulated rot of centuries. Thus with the collapse of social values, political anarchy, perpetual misgovernment, and economic decay, the Hindu era was right on the threshold of dissolution. Nothing extraordinary was needed to perform its last rites. The two foreign adventurers, Rinchana and Shah Mir, performed this function admirably well. Shah Mir was destined to establish a Muslim dynasty, of which Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was the most illustrious ruler. His distinguished career forms the theme of the present work.

SHAH MIR'S ORIGIN

The reign of Suhadeva (1301-1320 A.D.) is significent in many respects. A generous king, he gave shelter to many people who came to Kashmir in search of fortune and employment.[53] One of these was Shah Mir, who came to Kashmir[54] along with his family in 1313 A.D.[55] He was admitted to the royal service[56] and was probably posted at the castle of Andarkot.[57] Regarding the racial origin and the place Shah Mir hailed from different versions are advanced.

(1) According to one version, he descended from the Pandavas of the *Mahabharata* fame.[58] This theory seems to have originated in two ways. First, it is due to the wrong understanding of Jonaraja's chronicle which describes the remote ancestor of Shah Mir as "like the second Arjuna."[59] Secondly, the *Kuther Sarada* inscription attributes the ancestry of Sultan Shihab-ud-din, a lineal descendant of Shah Mir, to the Pandavas.[60] One can hardly expect records to trace his lineage to the heroes of doubtful historical authenticity. This inscription merely embodied a flattering attempt to give Shihab-ud-din an exalted pedigree commensurate with his military achievements.[61]

(2) Rejecting all the relevant evidence, Mohibbul Hasan ascribes to Shah Mir a Turkish origin on the basis of a study of his character and achievements, and of his successors.[62]

(3) On the slender evidence of chronological closeness, and some resemblance of Shah Mir's name with Amir Shah contained in the 'Preface' appended to Qutb-ud-din Mahmud Shirazi's *Tarjama-i-Iqlidas*, Parmu assigns to Shah Mir an Iranian origin.[63] But the high sounding epithets like "grandeur of Iran", "regulator of the world," "best of the kings of the world" and the like used for Amir Shah[64] strongly suggest that he could have been nothing less than the ruler of Iran. His exit from Iran must have been a major event, yet it finds no mention in the Iranian sources to corroborate Parmu's theory.

(4) According to another account, Shah Mir hailed from Swat. It has originated from the wrong indentification of Swadgir, as menotined with little variations in some Persian sources,[65] with Swat.[66]

None of the above theories is convincing. In such an event we must turn to a close study of the chronicle of Jonaraja who, as a court-chronicler of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, a lineal descendant of Shah Mir, is "much less open to doubt."[67] According to Jonaraja, Partha, a remote ancestor of Shah Mir, was, as it were, a second Partha (Arjuna) and hailed from Panchagahvara on the borders of which his son constructed the town of Garbharapura.[68] The correct identification of these two localities solves to a large extent the problem of Shah Mir's racial origin. Panchagahvara is identified with the Valley of Panjgabbar lying between Rajauri and Budil area.[69] Garbharapura is indentified with Gabhar[70] which is the same as "Gabbar", a locality lying to the east of Panjgabbar in Budil area.[71] Curiously enough, it finds its corroboration in the local Persian sources.[72] Their Swadgir may be read as Swadgabar[73], i e., "Suburbs of Gabar."[74], which agrees with Jonaraja's expression "*Panchagahvara-Simani*,"[75] i.e., "on the borders of Panchagahvara." The area in which Panchagahvara was situated is mentioned as having been the place of habitation of the *Khasa* tribe.[76] Shah Mir was, therefore, a *Khasa* by birth[77]. This conclusion is further strengthened by references to the part the Khasas increasingly played in the politics of Kashmir with which their connections became intimate after the occupation of Kashmir[78] by those of their tribe. Shah Mir descended from the chiefs of Panchagahvara[79]. The names of his father and grandfather are mentioned as Quru Shah[80] and Tahir Ali[81] respectively. Originally Hindu, the family appears to have accepted conversion to Islam during the time of one of Shah Mir's ancestors who are mentioned as bearing Hindu names.[82]

RINCHANA

Shah Mir took full advantage of the two violent convulsions caused by Dulacha and Rinchana towards the close of Suhadeva's reign. Rinchana, a Ladakhi prince, forced by political expediency,[83] came with his followers to Kashmir[84] through the Zoji-la pass[85] at a time when Dulacha, a Mongol invader, was ravaging Kashmir with all the ferocity[86] characteristic of his race. With the advent of winter, Dulacha left Kashmir through the Tarabal pass[87] to perish in the snows along with his large army and prisoners.[88] The loss of life and property was so wide-spread that "Kashmir became almost like a region before creation, a vast field with few men, without food, and full of grass."[89]

Rinchana was naturally tempted to fish in the troubled waters with an eye on the throne. Demoralization was rampant and the resistance which Ramachandra, the commander-in-chief, offered to him was not a powerful one.[90] Rinchana, however, manipulated Ramachandra's murder in a treacherous manner, and married his daughter, Kota Devi.[91] Seized with panic, the king Suhadeva fled to Kishtwar[92], and Rinchana became king[93]. Jonaraja speaks highly of the sense of justice which Rinchana displayed, and of the determination with which he suppressed turbulent elements and restored peace and order in the kingdom.[94]

A Buddhist prince, Rinchana expressed his desire, perhaps under the influence of his Hindu wife, or as a measure of political expediency, to embrace Hinduism[95] which was the predominant religion of the Kashmiris. Devaswami, who appears to have been the chief priest, refused to oblige him for reasons of purity of caste and race.[96] Rinchana eventually accepted Islam "through intimacy and association with Shah Mir,"[97] whom he appointed his Prime Minister[98] in recognition of his services which he possibly rendered to Rinchana in his struggle for the throne. Rinchana died in 1323 A.D. after a reign of a little over three years.[99]

RESTORATION OF HINDU RULE AND SHAH MIR'S COUP D'ETAT

Rinchana's son Haidar, who was placed by the former under the guardianship of Shah Mir,[100] was a minor, and Shah Mir was not yet powerful enough to usurp the throne.[101] Shah Mir, however, with Kota Devi's concurrence, invited Suhadeva's brother, Udayanadeva, to be crowned.[102] He was a weak king and, during the fifteen years of his reign (1323-1339 A.D.), Kota Devi, whom he married, was the virtual mistress of the kingdom.[103]

Shah Mir had an eye on the throne ever since he entered Kashmir.[104] Gradually, through his persistent efforts helped by certain initial advantages, he became a factor to be reckoned with in Kashmir politics. He had become the chief leader of the Muslims[105] who had come and settled in Kashmir in different periods. Moreover, the weak rule of Udayanadeva offered him a great opportunity which Shah Mir adroitly utilised to fortify his position further and to make adequate preparations. Shah Mir had, during his reign, earned the gratitude of the people by helping the government successfully to repel a foreign invasion.[106] It was a turning point in his career. It proved to be as important to Shah Mir as Dulacha's invasion was to Rinchana. He had emerged as the saviour of the people. Kota Devi gratified him by bestowing on his two sons, Jamshed and Ali Sher, the area of Kramarajya and other districts in proprietary rights.[107] A powerful and popular figure, Shah Mir strengthened his position further by securing allegiance of the martial nobility partly by matrimonial alliances and partly by force.[108] His preparations were complete[109] when Udayanadeva died in February, 1339 A.D.[110] Kota Devi, apprehensive of Shah Mir's growing power and ambition, shifted to the fort of Andarkot[111] and declared herself the sovereign of Kashmir with the support of the rural nobility, the *Lavanyas.*[112] To counteract his influence, she appointed Bhatta Bhiksana, an influential *Brahmana*, to the post of Prime Minister.[113] But driven by jealousy, Shah Mir contrived his murder through an act of treachery.[114] Dissuaded by her evil counsellors, who were in the pay-roll of Shah Mir, Kota Devi failed to strike against him when she was capable of doing so.[115] The opportunity thus lost, was lost for ever, and the price she had to pay was an exorbitant one. She was captured and thrown into prison along with her two sons through Rinchana, Haidar and Jatta, under the orders of Shah Mir, where she died in 1339 A.D.[116] This marked the final end of the Hindu sovereignty. Shah Mir became king and the Muslim rule thus established in Kashmir lasted over two centuries, and a quarter.

SHAMS-UD-DIN (1339-1342 A.D.)

Shah Mir ascended the throne of Kashmir under the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din[117] and founded the Khasa dynasty of rulers of which Zain-ul-Abidin was the eighth king. Shams-ud-din was now an old man;[118] he had arrived in Kashmir in 1313 A.D. He is credited with the restoration of peace and order in Kashmir which had frequently been disturbed by the turbulent feudal lords.[119] He broke their power,[120] and suppressed a revolt led by the *Rajasthaniyas.*[121] The Sultan reorganised his army by recruiting soldiers from the tribes of *Chaks* and *Magres* to the exclusion of all others.[122] He repealed the oppressive taxes imposed on people by the previous kings[123] and reduced the land revenue to one-sixth of the gross produce.[124] Coins were struck and the *Khutba* was recited in his name.[125] He was a Sunni Muslim and made some efforts to popularise *Hanafi* doctrines in Kashmir.[126] Shams-ud-din introduced a Kashmiri calendar commencing from 725 A.H., i.e., 1323 A.D.[127] Towards the close of his reign he entrusted the management of his kingdom to his sons, Jamshed and Ali Sher,[128] and spent his time in repose and in worship[129] until his death in 1342 A.D.[130] He seems to have declared Jamshed his heir-apparent bofore his death[131].

JAMSHED (1342-44 A.D.)

Shams-ud-din's eldest son, Jamshed, ascended the throne with the concurrence of the chief nobles of Kashmir.[132] He had already gained experience in the management of state affairs both in his capacity as governor of Kramarajya under Udayanadeva[133] and also on account of having held an independent charge of the kingdom under his father in association with his younger brother, Ali Sher.[134] But it was in no way reflected in his performance as a ruler.[135] Jamshed's brief reign is not noted for any act of statesmanship or of reconstruction. In fact, he remained chiefly preoccupied in fighting against his brother to save his throne. Ali Sher perhaps thought that he had a better claim to the throne for the services he and his sons had rendered to Shah Mir in grabbing the kingdom.[136] Incited and supported by a section of nobles, Ali Sher raised a standard of revolt against the king at Avantipura.[137] He appears to have been supported by Lakshmaka, his Hindu father-in-law, who was the commander-in-chief.[138] Jamshed tried to achieve conciliation.[139] Ali Sher, however, did not respond[140] and the civil war continued with much bloodshed.[141] The issue was finally clinched in favour of the younger brother when Jamshed's Prime Minister, Siraj-ud-din, having been lured by promises of gifts and honours, handed over the possession of the capital city of Srinagar to Ali Sher.[142] Jamshed lost against the superior talent of Ali Sher.[143] Ali Sher became king and, perhaps finding Jamshed to be of no consequence, offered him the post of *Dvarapati*,[144] i.e., the "Guardian of the Passes." As *Dvarapati*, Jamshed is credited with the construction of a bridge across the river Vitasta (Jehlam) in the town of Suyyapura, and an inn for travellers after his own name.[145] Jamshed died after a brief and nominal reign of one year and ten months,[146] i.e., in 1344 A.D.

ALI SHER (1344-1355 A.D.)

Ali Sher assumed the sovereignty of Kashmir under the title of Sultan Ala-ud-din.[147] As the stars would have it, he started his reign at a time when Kashmir was under the grip of a devastating famine[148] which took a heavy toll of life.[149] The measures, if any, which the Sultan took to alleviate the sufferings of his people are not recorded.[150] He, however, suppressed the *Lavanyas*[151] and the *Rajasthaniyas*[152] who had become a constant source of disturbance in the kingdom. He enacted a new law under which an issueless widow with loose morals forfeited all claim on husband's property.[153] Thus he sought to check the deteriorating standard of morality among the womenfolk. He transferred his capital to Jayapidapura,[154] possibly for strategic reasons.[155] He constructed a town on the site of Buddhagira in Rinchanapura and named it Ala-ud-dinpur after himself.[156] Ala-ud-din's son Prince Shirahshataka (Shihab-ud-din) is recorded by Jonaraja to have been blessed by a *Yogini* possessing great spiritual powers.[157] If the historian Hasan[158] is to be believed, the *Yogini* was none other than Lalla Arifa (Lalleshwari), a great *Shaivite* preacher of the fourteenth century who sought to remove the manifold abuses which had crept into the socio-religious life of Kashmir.[159] From the study of whatever little is known about Ala-ud-din, he emerges as a strong, capable, and tolerant ruler. He died in 1355 A.D.,[160] and lies buried in the new town of Ala-ud-dinpur.[161]

SHIHAB-UD-DIN (1355-1373 A.D.)

The immediate successors of Shams-ud-din were chiefly preoccupied with the consolidation of the Sultanate within the girded Valley of Kashmir. The work of its imperial extension fell upon Ala-ud-din's son and successor, who ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Shihab-ud-din.[162] He is portrayed by Jonaraja as an indefatigable ruler, strictly moral in his conduct, insatiable in his conquests and possessed of supreme self-confidence, courage and physical strength.[163] Aided by his military commanders - Chandra Damara, Laula Damara and Shura[164]—Shihab-ud-din employed his energies and enlarged the kingdom considerably. Both the Sanskrit and the Persian chroniclers credit him with the subjugation of a large number of principalities and peoples. Jonaraja's list includes Ohind, north-west portion of the Punjab, the Upper Indus region, the *Chinga* tribe of Jammu, Peshawar, Kangra, Jalalabad and Ghazni.[165] He is also recorded to have harassed and blocked the way of the "*Lord of the North*" on the banks of the Satlej when the latter was returning after plundering Delhi[166] He was probably a Mongol invader.[167] Jonaraja's reference to *Bhauttas* who appear to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Shihab-ud-din without fighting[168] suggests the subjugation of Baltistan as well. As we turn the pages of the Persian chronicles, the list swells with names like Pakhli, Swat, Multan, Numan, Kabul, Ghazni, Qandahar, Ladakh, Jammu, Kishtwar, Gilgit, Dardistan and even Badakhshan beyond the Hindukush mountain.[169] They also refer to an indecisive engagement between Firuz Shah Tughluq, the Sultan of Delhi, and the king of Kashmir, followed by an agreement regarding territorial adjustments.[170] This is neither mentioned by Jonaraja nor corroborated by any historian of Firuz Shah's reign. Keeping in view the meagre resources of Kashmir in men and money, difficulties of transport and communications, and an exceedingly difficult nature of terrain where all his campaigns were conducted, it is difficult to imagine how Sultan Shihab-ud-din could have subjugated all these places. By and large, the account of Jonaraja appears to be true, but the inclusion in the list of Shihab-ud-din's conquests of places in Afghanistan and Central Asia by the Persian chroniclers is incredible.

Besides being a conqueror, Shihab-ud-din was a strong and efficient ruler. He cleared the country of rebels and marauders with a heavy hand.[171] His regulations, however, were sometimes of an oppressive nature.[172] He encouraged learning,[173] and his reign was characterised by much building activity.[174] He was a fairly tolerant ruler.[175] He died in 1373 A.D.[176]

QUTB-UD-DIN (1373-1389 A.D.)

Shihab-ud-din's brother, Hindal, ascended the throne under the title of Qutb-ud-din.[177] He was "remarkable for his extreme attention to public business, which he transacted in person, and generally with justice and moderation."[178] He was a man of pleasant manners and morals ;[179] he built the town of Qutb-uddinpur after his own name.[180] Early in his career, he suppressed a conspiracy hatched by his Hindu Prime Minister Udayashri, in league with the Sultan's nephew, Hasan.[181] His military activity remained confined only to an abortive attempt to subdue the ruler of Lohara.[182] A severe famine occurred in his time, and he took spirited measures for the relief of victims.[183]

Sultan Qutb-ud-din's reign, however, is chiefly remembered for the progress made for the spread of Islam. Islamic doctrines and practices had not yet made a deep impact on the people of Kashmir. Hindus still formed the bulk of the population. Qutb-ud-din is described by Jonaraja as performing *Yagna* and distributing large gifts among the people.[184] Along with his converted

Muslim subjects he even participated in Hindu worship.[185] He married two sisters[186] which was un-Islamic. This was the position in which Sayyid Ali Hamadani,[187] a scholar-saint of repute from Hamadan in Persia, found Kashmir. He, along with seven hundred followers, took to converting people to Islam. If Saadat is to be believed,[188] Sayyid Ali converted as many as thirty-seven thousand Hindus to Islam. Under his influence, the Sultan rectified his un-Islamic conduct and dressed himself after the style in vogue in Muslim countries.[189] He held the saint in profound respect, but had the sagacity not to accept every piece of his advice.[190] Everything had proceeded on peaceful lines. His reign thus marked the peaceful beginning of a mighty revolution which was to bring about radical changes in the socio-religious and culturul life of Kashmir. Qutb-ud-din died in 1389 A.D. after a rule of sixteen years,[191] and the peaceful tenor of the religious revolution which began in his reign soon degenerated into scenes of ugly violence in the hands of the immediate successors of both the Sultan and the Sayyid.

SIKANDAR (1389-1413 A.D.)

So far the exercise of sovereignty by the Sultans of Kashmir had remained confined to the twin planes of war and politics. However, with the accession of Sultan Sikandar, who succecded his father Qutb-ud-din in 1389 A.D.,[192] a new dimension to it was added. The propagation of Islam had not yet received the serious attention of the Sultans beyond the construction of a few mosques. The work of proselytization was limited to the tireless efforts of Muslim missionaries who were pouring into Kashmir in ever increasing numbers under the patronage of Muslim rulers.[193] Sultan Sikandar was, however, destined to bring about a total change in the religious policy so far pursued by the Muslim rulers of Kashmir.

During the early years of his reign, Sikandar was chiefly preoccupied with the suppression of revolts and destruction of his inveterate enemies.[194] His later years are, however, memorable for his diplomatic relations with Timur, the arrival of Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani, the persecution of Hindus, and the destruction of their temples and images.

One of the the most significant events during Sikandar's reign was the Indian invasion of Timur in 1398-1399 A.D. Timur entered India and encamped on the banks of the Indus where ambassadors of several Indian rulers assembled to offer allegiance to him on behalf of their masters.[195] They were treated with respect and attention and dismissed amicably.[196] Jonaraja refers to one *Mleccharaja*, i.e., "King of the *Mlecchas*" who sacked Delhi and presented two elephants to Sultan Sikandar out of fear.[197] He was obviously Timur who is mentioned to have distributed elephants[198] as a mark of his success in India to overawe the people.[199] Jonaraja's assertion that he did so out of fear is fantastic. Anxious to save his kingdom, Sikandar also sent his envoy, Nur-ud-din, to wait upon the conqueror. He was cordially received and dismissed with a horse and a robe of honour to carry instructions for his master to join Timur at Dipalpur with his army.[200] While on his way to Dipalpur, as directed, Sultan Sikandar came to know that he was expected by Timur's ministers of finance to contribute 30,000 horses and 1,00,000 silver *tankas*.[201] The Sultan promptly returned to Kashmir for a hurried collection to meet the exorbitant demands of Timur's rapacious ministers.[202] Nur-ud-din was, in the meantime, sent to request for more time.[203] As the request reached him, Timur rebuked his ministers, and instructed them that "a tribute to be demanded of every country ought to be in proportion to its income and cultivation."[204] On his part, Timur despatched his envoy, Muatamad Zain-ud-din with Nur-ud-din, to Sikandar with the instructions that they were to join him on the banks of the Indus after the expiry of twenty-eight days.[205] Sikandar accordingly set out from his capital, but before he could cross Baramula, the news arrived that Timur had already proceeded towards Samarqand.[206] Sikandar returned without ever meeting the conqueror.[207] But he deputed his ambassadors to proceed to the Court of Samarqand with an impressive tribute.[208]

A strong ruler, Sikandar conquered Ladakh.[209] He also subdued the rulers of Ohind[210] and Jammu[211] and accepted their daughters in marriage. He had a passion for religious architecture. Besides the construction of the town of Sikandarpur[212] and a magnificent Jama Masjid,[213] he studded his kingdom with a number of mosques and hospices.[214] This was the outcome of his strong devotion to his religion. He was always eager to do what his religion required of him. His encouragement to Muslim learning and to learned men attracted to his court a large number of missionaries and scholars from Persia and Central Asian countries.[215] They came in groups of which the most important one was of 300 *Sayyids* and scholars led by Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani, the son of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, who arrived in Kashmir in 1393 A.D.[216] Soon they occupied the highest offices of the State.[217] The Sultan came under the spell of Sayyid Muhammad and became his disciple in "word and deed".[218] The Sayyid's resolve to dispel the darkness of infidelity from the kingdom[219] formed the basis of the Sultan's subsequent attitude towards the non-Muslims. They found in Suhabhatta, renamed Malik Saif-ud-din, who was the commander-in-chief of the State forces, a spirited instrument with the fiery zeal of a new convert.[220] The outcome was unfortunate for the Hindus. The office of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* was established to enforce the *Shariat*.[221] Wine and music were banned.[222] Numerous Hindu temples and images were broken.[223] The subjects were forced to abjure idolatry or pay *Jizya*.[224]. The Hindu usages and customs were subverted.[225] The Hindus were debarred from holding official positions.[226] Malik Saif-ud-din is recorded even to have employed his army to assist him in the extirpation of infidelity.[227] The Sultan by such acts as these earned the proud title of *Butshikan* (Iconoclast) from the Persian chroniclers.[228] Jonaraja, however, puts the chief blame on Saif-ud-din.[229] It appears from his account that Sikandar did not wish to go that far.[230] Malik Saif-ud-din's zeal enforced by the Sayyid's influence on the Sultan led to persecutions and iconoclastic activities. However, with the departure of the Sayyid from Kashmir, matters improved. Saif-ud-din found himself weak against Sikandar, and the *Jizya* was completely withdrawn.[231] The chronicler, however, does not exonerate the father of his own benefactor, for he believed in the maxim that the master was responsible for the activities of his servants.[232] Sikandar died in 1413 A.D.[233]

ALI SHAH (1413-1419 A.D.)

Sikandar's eldest son, Mir Khan, who ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Ali Shah, inherited to the full his father's fanaticism, but being without his energy and talent, played into the hands of Saif-ud-din who, for the part he had played in Sikandar's time, was most fitted to be his Prime Minister.[234] Saif-ud-din signalled his tenure by eradicating his political rivals[235] and repelling an attack of Firuz, the exiled son of Sikandar through his Hindu wife, Shobha Devi.[236] With no one to question him, Saif-ud-din restarted the persecution of Hindus with a "redoubled fury"[237]. The *Brahmanas* were the main target of attack this time.[238] Hindu rituals, ceremonies, and festivals were banned.[239] *Jizya* was reimposed, and even *Brahmanas* were not exempted.[240] Conversions by coercion to Islam were carried out. Passes were sealed and permit system was introduced to prevent a mass exodus of the Hindus;[241] yet many escaped through the bye-roads.[242] Unable to pay and to escape, the *Brahmanas* committed suicide in large numbers.[243] Many died of starvation, disease, and physical exertions. Some wandered about in the guise of Muslims to save their families.[244] Jonaraja speaks of others putting out "their tongues like dogs in search of a dog's morsel at every door."[245] Shaikh Nur-ud-din, an influential and liberal *Sufi*, was, it appears, put under arrest by Saif-ud-din for his intervention on behalf of the *Brahmanas*.[246]

However, in 1415 A.D. Saif-ud-din died, and Ali Shah, unable to manage the State, abdicated in favour of his younger brother, Shahi Khan.[247] Seldom in history are the two sons of a ruler so radically different as were Ali Shah and Shahi Khan, the future Zain-ul-Abidin.

REFERENCES

1. Elliot & Dowson, I, p. 436 ; Ray (H.C.), *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 6.
2. *Chacha Nama*, (E & D), I, p. 141 and Appendix, p. 436.

3. His reign is fixed between 711-12 —720-21 A.D. (Saxena, *Political History af Kashmir*, p. 50.)
4. Vide Stein, *R.T.*, iv, 45n. Chandrapida is mentioned in the Chinese sources as Tchen-to-lo-pi-li.
5. *Chacha Nama*, (E & D), I, p. 124.
6. Majumdar, *Classical Age*, p. 134. Lalitaditya's reign extended from 724 to 761 A.D. : (See Saxena, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 90).
7, Reinaud, *Memoire Sur L' Inde*, p. 90.
8. TSU Chi, *A Short History of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 144.
9. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 45.
10. Balazuri, *Futuh-ul-Buldan*, (Hitti and Murgotten), II, pp. 230-31.
11. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.
12. cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
13. For various details of Mahmud's unsuccessful attempts to enter Kashmir see Gardizi, *Kitab Zain-ul-Akhbar*, pp. 70, 73 ; Firishta, pp. 54, 55, 65 ; Nazim, *SultanMahmud* of *Ghazna*, pp. 104-105 ; Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, p. 35 ; *Alberuni, India*, (Sachau), I, pp. 207 Sqq.
14. Kalhana, I, vii, 166-76.
15. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Also see Stein, *R.T.*, I, vii, 168n.
16. It was only as late as 1287 A.D., after a period of more than two hundred years, that Kashmir was successfully invaded by Kajjala who was incidentally not a Muslim : (Jonaraja, Stt. 116, 118). For indentification of Kajjala with Khajlak, a Mongol leader, see Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 60.
17. Jonaraja, Stt. 33, 36.
18. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 51.
19. *Tarikh-i-Azami*, (Urdu tr.), p. 64. Nagarkot is identified with modern Kangra : (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography* of *India*, p. 157).
20. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (Urdu tr.), II, p. 136.
21. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 51.
22. Jonaraja, St. 36. 23. Kalhana, I, vii, 1149.
24. Ibid, II, viii, 885-87, 919, 923. 25. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.
26. Kalhana, I, vii, 520.
27. Ibid., 923-24, 928-31 and Stein's note 923.
28. Ibid., 528. 29. Ibid.
30. Marco Polo, *Travels*, (Yule), I, pp. 176-77.
31. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., pp. 72-73.
32. Jonaraja calls him their "*Kulnath*", i.e., "the leader of the tribe" : (St. 222).
33. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 58. 34. Kalhana, II, viii, 85-122.
35. Jonaraja, Stt. 30-38. 36. Ibid., Stt. 65-66.
37. Haidar Malik : (Vide Mohibbul Hasan, p. 33).
38. Kalhana's seventh and eighth Books of *Rajatarangini* are replete with numerous such cases.

39. Kalhana, I, vii, 278. 40. Ibid., 1147-48.
41. Jonaraja, St. 51.
42. Kalhana, I, vii, 278, 960, 1037 ; Jonaraja, Stt. 56, 67-68.
43. Jonaraja, St. 56.
44. Kalhana, I, vii, 1037 and II, viii, 481 ; Jonaraja, Stt. 67-68, 83, 89-91, 94, 99, 118-119.
45. Kalhana, II, viii, 7.
46. Ibid., I, iv, 629, vii, 107-109, II, viii, 85-122.
47. Ray, *op. cit* , pp. 101-102 & 80n.
48. Jonaraja, Stt. 96, 144. King Harsha is recorded to have levied tax even on the night-soil : (Kalhana, I, vii, 1107).
49. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 120. 50. Kalhana, I, vi, 23.
51. Ibid., vii, 195. 52. Jonaraja, St. 173.
53. Ibid., St. 131.
54. Nizamuddin, pp. 633-34 ; Firishta, p. 451 : *Baharistan.*, p. 8 ; Jonaraja, St. 140.
55. Jonaraja, St. 140.
56. *Ain.*, II, p. 381 ; Firishta, p. 451 ; Nizamuddin, p. 634 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 8 ; Jonaraja, St. 141.
57. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 64 Andarkot is now a village situated on the Sambal lake, 74° 42,′ long. 34° 13′, lat. : (Stein, *R.T.*, I, iv, 506-511n).
58. Firishta, p. 452 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 381 ; Nizamuddin, p. 633.
59. Jonaraja, St. 132 ; cf. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 63, 3n.
60. The *Sarada* inscription engraved on a stone slab and dated Sap. 4445 (1369 A.D.) is preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar.
61. cf. Shivaji bribed the *Brahmana* priest to obtain a declaration to the effect that he was a *Kshatriya* of the purest blood : (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 203).
62. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 43.
63. Parmu, pp. 86-87 and 52n. 64. Ibid.
65. *Baharistan.*, p. 8 ; Hasan, f. 86b ; Haidar Mailk, p 34.
66. Sufi, *Kashir*, I, p. 118 ; Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 277 ; P.I.H.C., 16th Session, (1953), p. 194.
67. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 63.
68. Jonaraja, St. 132. 69. Stein, *R.T.*, I, i, 317 n.,
70. This was identified by Rajanaka Ratnakantha, a 12th-century Sanskrit scholar of Kashmir : (See Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 64, 1n.
71. See Stein's Map of Ancient Kashmir appended to his translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.
72. *Baharistan.*, p. 8 ; Hasan, f. 86b ; Haidar Malik, p. 34.
73. Swadgir and Swadgabar have only a difference of a dot (*nuqta*) between them in the Persian script. Secondly, Swadgir may have been a more meaningful expression than Swadgabar for a copyist of the Persian language.

74. Persian translation of Swadgabar. 75. Jonaraja, St. 132.
76. Stein, *R.T.*, I, i, 317n ; Srivara, 3, St. 101.
77. cf Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 64.
78. Jonaraja, Stt. 525, 622-629 etc.
79. *Baharistan.*, p. 8. This stands corroborated if Jonaraja's expression "*mukhi*" (St. 135) interpreted by Jayachandra (*Mimamsa*, p. 393), as "headman" is accepted.
80. Jonaraja, St. 133.
81. Tahir Al of Nizamuddin (p. 633) and Taharal of Jonaraja (St. 136) should be understood as Tahir Ali. The name mentioned by Firishta is Tahir : (p. 452).
82. Jonaraja, (Persian tr.), f. 25a.
83. A civil war in Ladakh at this time made Rinchana's position precarious : (Jonaraja, Stt. 146-51).
84. Jonaraja, St. 152. For corroboration by Ladakhi sources see I. A., Vol. XXXXVII, (1908), p. 187 and I.H.Q., Vol. XV, (1939), pp. 112-13.
85. Stein, *Ancient Geography*, para 58.
86. Jonaraja, Stt. 142, 154 and 161. Dulacha is generally accepted as a Mongol : (Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., pp. 65-66).
87. Jonaraja, St. 159. Srikanth Kaul places this pass between Konsarnag peak and Banihal mountain across the *pargana* of Divasar : (*R. T.*, Intro., p. 69, 1n)
88. *Baharistan.*, p. 10 ; Haidar Malik, p. 36 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 381.
89. Jonaraja, (Dutt), pp, 17-18. 90 Ibid., St. 166.
91. *Ibid.*, Stt. 167-69 ; *Baharistan*, p. 11.
92. Jonaraja, Stt. 170-71. For identification of the place see Srikanth Kaul, *R. T.*, Intro., p. 70, 3n.
93. *Baharistan.*, p. 11 ; Jonaraja, St. 174.
94. Jonaraja, Stt. 174, 177, 179, 184. Also see *Baharistan.*, p. 12.
95. Jonaraja, St. 196.
96. Ibid.
97. *Ain.*, II, p. 382 ; Hasan, f. 100a ; *Baharistan.*, pp. 12-13.
98. Nizamuddin, p. 634 ; Firishta, p. 452 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 382 ; J. A. S. B., Vol. 23, (1854). p. 411.
99. Jonaraja, Stt. 219-20.
100. Ibid., St. 216 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 14.
101. Jonaraja, St. 221.
102. *Baharistan.*, p. 14 ; Hasan, f. 101 b; Jonaraja, Stt. 222-23. Jonaraja does not mention Udayanadeva's relationship with Suhadeva. *Baharistan-i-Shahi* calls him Suhadeva's brother : (p. 14).
103. Jonaraja, St. 223 ; *Baharistan*, p. 14 ; Hasan, f. 101 b.
104. Jonaraja, Stt. 138-39. 105. Ibid., Stt. 307.
106. Hasan, f. 101 b ; Jonaraja, St. 232; Haidar Malik, p. 38.
107. Jonaraja, St. 225.
108. For details see Jonaraja, Stt. 250-52, 256-60.
109. Ibid., Stt. 253-55. 110. Ibid., St. 263.

111. Ibid., St. 300. Andarkot was ancient Jayapidapura which is now called Safapur overlooking the Manasbal lake : (Stein, *R. T.*, I, iv, 506-11 and note).
112. Jonaraja, St. 267. 113. Ibid., Stt. 270-71.
114. For details see Jonaraja, Stt. 276-80.
115. Ibid., Stt. 281-83, 116. Ibid., Stt. 304-307.
117. Ibid., St. 310. 118. Firishta, (Lko.ed.), II, p. 389.
119. Jonaraja, St. 310 ; Nizamuddin, pp, 636-37.
120. Jonaraja, St. 309.
121. Ibid., St. 313. *Rajasthaniyas* were a class of officials : (Stein, *R. T.*, I, vii, 601n).
122. Firishta, p. 454.
123. Ibid., p. 453. 124. Ibid. ; Nizamuddin, pp. 635-36.
125. Firishta, p. 453 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 635-36.
126. Firishta, p. 453.
127. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (Urdu tr.), II, p 151.
128. Jonaraja, St. 314 ; Firishta, p. 454 ; Nizamuddin, p. 637.
129. Nizamuddin, p. 637. 130. Jonaraja, St. 315.
131. Ibid., Stt. 323-24 ; Singh, *R. T.*, pp. 99-100, 314 n.
132. Jonaraja, St. 316 ; Firishta, p. 455 ; Nizamuddin, p. 637.
133. Jonaraja, St. 225.
134. Ibid., St. 314 ; Firishta, p. 454 ; Nizamuddin, p. 637.
135. Mohibbul Hasan's assessment that he was a good ruler promoting the welfare of the people is not based on evidence : (p. 47).
136. Srikanth Kaul, *R. T.*, Intro., p. 82.
137. Jonaraja, Stt. 319-21. Avantipura was the old name of the modern village of Vantipora about 22 kilometres from Srinagar on the road to Anantnag : (Stein, *R. T.*, *I*, v, 44-45n).
138. Jonaraja, Stt. 256, 325 ; Singh, *R. T.*, p. 207, 325n ; Srikanth Kaul, *R. T.*, Intro., p. 77 & 3n, p. 83 and 1n.
139. Jonaraja, Stt. 223-24 ; Firishta, p. 455 ; Nizamuddin, p, 638.
140. Jonaraja, Stt. 326-29.
141. Nizamuddin, p. 638 ; Firishta, p. 455 ; Jonaraja, St. 332.
142. Jonaraja, St. 237.
143. Jonaraja praises him for his intelligence and valour : (St. 317).
144. Jonaraja, St. 339. 145. Ibid., St. 341.
146. Ibid., St. 338. 147. Firishta, p. 457.
148. Jonaraja, St. 358. 149. Nizamuddin, p. 639.
150. Mohibbul Hasan wrongly refers to Jonaraja for the relief measures : (p. 48).
151. *Munich MS.*, ff. 55a-b. 152. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 408.
153. Ibid., St. 356.
154. Ibid., St. 357. Jayapidapura is marked by the present village

cf Andarkot five miles below Shadipur on the left bank of the Jehlam : (Stein, *R. T.*, II, p. 479).

155. cf. Singh, *R ,T.*, p. 222, 357n.

156. Jonaraja's reference to this point is not very clear if taken too literally : (St. 357). If, however, read with other Persian chronicles, the sense becomes clear : (*Baharistan.*, p. 17 ; Firishta, p. 457 ; Nizamuddin, p. 639).

157. Jonaraja, Stt. 342-52 ; Baharistan., p. 16 ; Haidar Malik, p. 39.

158. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (Urdu tr,), II, pp. 153-54.

159. For a detailed account of her life and teachings see Anand Kaul's articles in I. A., Vol. 50, (1921), pp. 302-12, Vol. 59, (1930), pp. 108-13, 127-30.

160. Jonaraja, St. 359.

161. *Baharistan.*, p. 17 ; J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIX, pt. I, (1880), p. 18.

162. Jonaraja, St. 360 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 17.

163, Jonaraja, Stt. 365-68. Also see *Baharistan.*, p. 17.

164. Jonaraja, Stt. 370-402. Chandra Damara is mentioned as Malik Chandra in *Baharistan-i-Shahi* : (p. 18). The names of Laula Damara and Shura have been rolled into one as Sura Lalaka by Mohibbul Hasan (p. 53) and as Shahrawal by the Persian chroniclers.

165. Jonaraja, Stt. 372-80, 386. For these identifications of places mentioned in Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini* see Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., pp. 86-88 and notes.

166. Jonaraja, St. 383.

167. Jonaraja s expression "*Udakpati*" means "lord of the north." This has wrongly gone into the Persian chronicles as Raja Udakpati of Nagarakot and through them into the modern works : (See Srikanth Kaul, *R. T.*, Intro., pp. 88-89 and notes).

168. Jonaraja, Stt, 387-88. For the identification of these *Bhauttas* with the *Baltis* see I. H. Q., (Supplement), Vol. XV, (1939), pp. 114-15).

169. *Baharistan.*, p. 18.

170. Hasan, f. 106b ; *Baharistan.*, p. 19.

171. Jonaraja, St. 442.

172. *Baharistan.*, p. 17 ; Hasan, f. 103a ; Haidar Malik, p. 40.

173. Rafi-ud-din, ff. 29a & b ; Abul Qasim, f. 110b.

174. Jonaraja, Stt. 409-37.

175. Ibid., Stt. 429-37.

176. Ibid., St. 463.

177. Ibid., St. *4*64.

178. Firishta, p. 460.

179. Nizamuddin, p. 642.

180. Jonaraja, St. 527.

181. Ibid., Stt. 510-25.

182, Ibid., Stt. 468-76 ; J. P. H. S., Vol. IX, p. 125.

183. Jonaraja, St. 528.

184. Ibid.

185. Sayyid Ali, f. 5a ; Abdul Wahhab, *Futuhat-i-Kubraviva*, f. 147a.
186. Sayyid Ali, f. 5a ; Abdul Wahhab, *op. cit.*, f. 147b.
187. For details see Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 55-58 and Parmu, pp. 101-106. Jonaraja does not mention him and his activities at all.
188. Saadat, *Bulbul Shah*, pp. 7, 23.
189. Sayyid Ali, f. 5a ; Abdul Wahhab, *op. cit.*, ff. 147b-48b ; P. I. H. C., 16th Session, (1953), p. 195.
190. Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 56, 57. 191. Jonaraja, St. 537.
192. Ibid., Stt. 538-41 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 23 ; Sayyid Ali, ff. 9a & b ; Haidar Malik, p. 43.
193. P. I. H. C., 16th Session, (1953), p. 195.
194. For details see Jonaraja, Stt. 545 Sqq.
195. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (E & D), III, pp. 408-409.
196. Ibid., p. 409.
197. Jonaraja, Stt. 561-62. The gift of one elephant is also mentioned in the local and Mughal Persian sources : (*Baharistan.*, p. 53 ; Firishta, p. 463 ; Nizamuddin, p. 645).
198. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (E & D), III, p. 444.
199. Srikanth Kaul, *R. T.*, Intro., p. 94.
200. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (E & D), III. pp. 409, 470. *Baharistan-i-Shahi* also briefly mentions the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two rulers : (p. 53). Dipalpur was then a flourishing city in tho northern Punjab only next to Multan in size and importance. It is at present very nearly deserted : (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 179).
201. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (E & D), III, p. 470. Sharaf-ud-din Ali Yazdi mentions 1,00,000 *durusts* of gold instead of silver *tankas* : (*Zafar Nama*, (E & D), III, p. 518). Both Nizamuddin (p. 647) and Firishta (p. 463) also mention this by giving different figures. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, however, is a better authority for the period.
202. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (E & D), III, p. 470; *Zafar Nama*, (E & D), III, p. 518 ; Nizamuddin, p. 647.
203. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (E & D), III, p. 470 ; *Zafar Nama*, (E & D), III, p. 518.
204. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (E & D), III, p. 470.
205. *Ibid.*, *Zafar Nama* , (E & D), III, p. 518.
206. Nizamuddin, p. 647 ; Firishta, p. 464.
207. Ibid. 208. Nizamuddin, p. 647.
209. Jonaraja, (Singh), St. 549 and note, p. 328.
210. Ibid., St. 577.
211. I. A., XXXVI, pp. 1-8. For marriage with the daughter of its ruler see Jonaraja, (Bo. ed), St. 729.
212. Jonaraja. (Singh), St. 589 and note, p. 351. It is survived in modern Nauhatta which is a part of Srinagar.

213. *Baharistan.*, p. 32 ; Haidar Malik, p. 44.
214, *Baharistan.*, pp. 32-33.
215. Ibid., pp. 29-31 ; Sayyid Ali, ff. 10a-12a. Jonaraja does not mention the places from where they came : (Stt. 571, 576).
216. Abdul Wahhab, *op. cit.*, f. 156a. Jonaraja mentions him as a man of superior learning : (St. 573).
217. *Baharistan.*, pp. 29-30 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 10b.
218. Jonaraja, St. 574 ; *Baharistan.*, pp. 23-24 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 9b.
219. Sayyid Ali, f. 9b ; *Baharistan.*, p. 24.
220. *Baharistan.*, p. 24. Jonaraaja does not mention his Muslim name after conversion : (St. 596).
221. *Baharistan.*, p. 31. 222. Ibid., p.24.
223. Sayyid Ali, ff. 13a & b ; Haidar Malik, p. 44 ; Abdul Wahhab *op. cit.*, f, 157b. Jonaraja specially mentions the names of Martanda, Vijayesana, Chakrbhrit, Tripuresvara, Suresvari Varaha and others whose images were broken : (Stt. 601–603).
224. Jonaraja, (Singh), St. 606 and note, p. 368 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 13b ; Haidar Malik, p. 44.
225. Jonaraja, Stt. 575, 605.
226. Ibid., (Singh), St. 607 and note, p. 370.
227. *Baharistan.*, p. 24. 228. Ibid., p. 23 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 9b.
229. Jonaraja, St. 652. 230. Ibid., Stt. 652-53.
231. Ibid., Stt. 608-9. 232. Ibid., St, 611.
233. Ibid., St. 612. 234. Ibid., St. 616.
235. Ibid., Stt. 617-18, 622, 625-29 ,631, 634-36, 69-403.
236. Ibid., Stt. 645-48.
237. Ibid., Stt. 652-53 ; Firishta, p. 467.
238. Jonaraja, Stt. 652-53, 657 ; Firishta, p. 467.
239. Jonaraja, St. 654.
240. Ibid., Stt. 652-53. Firuz Shah Tughluq also imposed *Jizya* upon the *Brahmanas* : (Banerjee, History of Firuz Shah Tughluq, pp. 123-24)
241. Ibid., Stt. 655-56. 242. Idid., St. 662.
243. Ibid., Stt. 657-59. 244. Ibid., Stt. 665-68.
245. Ibid., St. 669.
246. Ibid., St. 673 ; Srikanth Kaul,*R. T.*, Intro., p. 101.
247. See Appendix B- (ii) and Chapter II, p. 33.

CHAPTER II

SHAHI KHAN'S EARLY CAREER AND ACCESSION

The most illustrious of the five sons of Sultan Sikandar was Shahi Khan who assumed the sovereignty of Kashmir under the title of Zain-ul-Abidin after a fierce contest with his elder brother Ali Shah. He was the son of Sikandar through his wife, Meraj,[1] the daughter of the ruler of Udabhandapur or Ohind.[2] The name of this ruler in Jonaraja's chronicle is Piruja,[3] and it is not difficult to identify him with Firuz of Ohind mentioned in a Persian source.[4] Sultan Shihab-ud-din had conquered this kingdom,[5] but its ruler appears to have renounced the suzerainty of Kashmir during the reign of his immediate successor, Qutb-ud-din. Sultan Sikandar led an expedition against Firuz, for he refused to acknowledge his paramountcy.[6] Firuz suffered defeat and gave the hand of his beautiful daughter in marriage to Sikandar.[7] As to the date of its occurrence, there is no reference in the chronicles. But it is more than probable that the event took place in about the year 1397-98 A.D.[8]

Sultan Sikandar had in all seven children, five sons and two daughters. Besides Shahi Khan, Meraj had borne him two more sons, Mir Khan and Muhammad, the eldest and the youngest respectively.[9] Through his Hindu wife Shobha Devi, who was later superseded by Meraj as the chief queen,[10] Sikandar had two sons and two daughters. The two sons were Firuz and Muhammad, who were exiled,[11] while the two daughters, whose names are not given, were married to the rulers of Ohind and Sindhu.[12] The names of these rulers too are not mentioned. The ruler of Ohind was possibly the successor of Firuz, the father-in-law of Sikandar. Of all the five sons Sikandar had, Shahi Khan was unquestionably the most promising.

SHAHI KHAN'S DATE OF BIRTH

The year of Shahi Khan's birth is not recorded in any of the chronicles so far available to us. But, according to Srivara, Zain-ul-Abidin died at the age of sixty-nine years in the *Laukika* year (45) 46[13]—which corresponds to 1470 A.D.[14] This gives us 1401 A.D. as the year of Shahi Khan's birth. But the difficulty arises when we look for corroboration into the Persian sources which do not agree with the year of Shahi Khan's death recorded by Srivara. The year assigned for the event by Abul Fazl and Firishta is 1472 A.D. (877 A.H.).[15] However, the version given by the Sanskrit chronicler should be regarded more authentic in view of the reasons listed here. First, Srivara was an official chronicler and was personally present at the Sultan's funeral. Secondly, the Persian chroniclers have also utilised the Sanskrit work of Jonaraja in which *Laukika* dates are used. In the conversion of *Laukika* into *Hijri* dates, they have invariably committed an error because of the former having been a solar era and the latter a lunar.[16] Thirdly, Srivara's date agrees with that of the accession of his son and successor Haidar Shah (1470 A.D.) as determined by legends on his coins.[17] Thus the year of Shahi Khan's birth can be fixed with certainty at 1401 A.D.

HIS EARLY TRAINING

Very little is recorded in the chronicles about Shahi Khan's childhood. The various influences which went into the making of this illustrious monarch, whose reign was to be exceptional in every respect, require careful investigation. Shahi Khan is mentioned as having received early training at the hands of persons whose cumulative impact, on the whole, helped him develop a healthy and intelligent attitude towards life and his people. One of the earliest teachers of the Prince was Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani from whom he took lessons on the *Quran* and the philosophy of life.[18] But Shahi Khan remained unaffected by the Sayyid's narrow religious outlook. We have the testimony of Jonaraja that Shahi Khan's mother, Meraj, was a virtuous lady.[19] That her righteousness stamped the impressionable mind of the young Prince with all that was noble during his formative period goes without saying. He received his formal education at the hands of Maulana Kabir, a reputed scholar of his time[20]. Kabir was liberal, and his influence on Shahi Khan must have been decisive in cultivating in him a humanistic outlook. Sagacity, fortitude, and the liberal outlook thus developed enabled him to tide over the prejudices of his age. Kabir's recall from Herat after strenuous efforts by Zain-ul-Abidin later in his reign, and his appointment as the principal of a prestigious school founded in the newly established capital city at Naushahr[21] confirm the compatibility of views at a time when the Sultan had completely set himself in a liberal mould. The constant influence of Shahi Khan's step-mother, Shobha Devi, a Hindu princess of Jammu,[22] can hardly be ignored. On the authority of Jonaraja, we know that Shobha Devi constructed a Siva temple with a golden *linga*.[23] It implies two things. First, the act of the queen had at least the tacit approval of Sultan Sikandar. Secondly, the Sultan did not show any sign of fanaticism during the early part of his reign. The palace atmosphere was thus conducive to the Prince's healthy development. Moreover, Shahi Khan's constant association with his Hindu step-mother possessed of a strong religious bent of mind must have imbibed in him a spirit of tolerance and an inclination towards Hindu religion and philosophy. These influences he frequently displayed till the last days of his life.[24] He also came under the influence of a galaxy of *Sufis*, the most distinguished of whom was Shaikh Nur-ud-din.[25] A remarkable figure by his own right, he was the very embodiment of the spirit of righteousness and religious toleration.[26] Shahi Khan's association with people like him quickened his consciousness on the plane of religious humanism. The cumulative impact of the varied liberal influences on his mind promoted in him an unique sense of tolerance and a secular outlook to a remarkable degree. His father was a great patron of learning and of learned men, as we have seen earlier, and that the influence of this tradition on the Prince was extraordinary is revealed by his subsequent career. Shahi Khan had a highly developed aesthetic and artistic sense of which he always gave unmistakable evidence. His eclecticism is sometimes traced to foreign influences for which a thesis is developed that he spent a number of years at the Court of Timur in Samarqand.

Accordiug to an early Persian authority,[27] Sultan Sikandar sent his son Shahi Khan with suitable presents to Timur when the latter was encamping in Attock on the banks of the Indus just after the conclusion of his Indian campaign. But the conqueror carried the Prince off on his way back to Samarqand. Shahi Khan, the chronicler further adds,[28] remained in detention at the imperial court in Samarqand until Timur's death in 1405 A.D.[29] The view that Shahi Khan stayed at Samarqand for seven years is supported by some later Persian[30] and English authorities also.[31] But some modern historians[32] have rejected it on the ground that Shahi Khan having been born in 1401 A.D., did not even exist at the time of Timur's invasion of India (1398-1399 A.D.). Muhammad Din Fauq, however, takes the opposite view, and defends the story of the Prince's stay at Samarqand.[33] Shahi Khan, he argues, died at a much older age than is usually believed. While rejecting the recorded age of sixty-nine years at his death,[34] Fauq assigns Shahi Khan an age between eighty and ninety years, and shifts his year of birth further back to 788 A.H.,[35] i.e., 1386 A.D. In support of his arguments, he cites the case of one of Shahi Khan's sons, a man of advanced age, who made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of his father for fear of being outlived by the latter without the former's obtaining the throne of Kashmir.[36] We, however, come to know from a local Persian source that he was Haji Khan, the fourth child of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, and that he was in the fiftieth year of his age.[37] Shahi Khan, as such, was apparently quite grown up and fit to accompany Sikandar's envoy with presents to pay homage to Timur. But this thesis is beset with difficulties and cannot be accepted for obvious reasons. First, the year of Shahi Khan's birth is already fixed at 1401 A.D. beyond doubt on the basis of authoritative contemporary evidence. Secondly, even if one is inclined to shift it arbitrarily to an earlier date, it cannot be carried beyond 1397-98 A.D., the date of his mother's marriage. Thirdly, his detention in Samarqand is not mentioned in any of the contemporary Indian as well as non-Indian sources including *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, *Zafar Nama* and the *Rajataranginis* of Jonaraja and Srivara.[38]

SHAHI KHAN ENTERS POLITICS

Malik Saif-ud-din, as noted earlier, continued to be Sultan Ali Shah's Prime Minister after having held that office during Sikandar's reign as well. Possessed of an exceptional lust for power, he was jealous, intriguing, and narrow-minded. He completely dominated the young king, and unscrupulously managed to get rid of all those of his political rivals—by assassination, imprisonment, or expulsion—who even in a small measure enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan, or were in the slightest degree able to jeopardise his interests.[39] Despite the complete concentration of power in his hands, Saif-ud-din found his only powerful check in the person of Shahi Khan. Introducing Shahi Khan for the first time as a young man in conflict with Saif-ud-din, Jonaraja writes : "Finding wisdom and valour in Shahi Khan alone, he (Saif-ud-din) became alarmed and anxious and was unable to sleep."[40] It is suggestive of Shahi Khan's growing political stature and undeterred opposition to Saif-ud-din's policies as well as to his position which he so unscrupulously built up. Saif-ud-din naturally found in him a formidable opponent for whose annihilation he planned in vain.[41] He waited for a suitable opportunity[42] which never presented itself. And before Saif-ud-din could take courage to strike against Shahi Khan, death removed him from the political scene in 1315 AD.[43]

Saif-ud-din had in Laddaraja,[44] Malik Yusuf,[45] and Gaurabhatta[46] his three chief confidants in whom he placed great reliance.[47] Hamsabhatta or Malik Yusuf was Saif-ud-din's brother.[48] Shortly before Saif-ud-din's death, Laddaraja incurred his displeasure, and before be could manage to flee in fear, he was captured by Gaurabhatta and Malik Yusuf and thrown into prison. But soon after Saif-ud-din's exit, Gaurabhatta and Yusuf fell apart and, in a bid to establish personal ascendancy, they arrayed themselves against each other in a struggle to the death. Yusuf released Laddaraja from the prison possibly to strengthen his position against Gaurabhatta. In the battle that followed Gaurabhatta was defeated and killed. In order to establish his undisputed supremacy, Yusuf killed Laddaraja as well.[49] It is not known what part Shahi Khan played in this contest for supremacy among the confidants of late Saif-ud-din. Shahi Khan's hatred for Saif-ud-din was well known[50] ; and he natrually extended this hatred to his gangmen as well. With the foresight of a subtle political tactician, Shahi Khan must have stood alone as a spectator of events watching and calculating in silence the chances of his enemies' mutual destruction. The outcome was an encouraging one. Laddaraja and Gaurabhatta were thus killed and Yusuf emerged victorious from the fierce contest.[51] His soaring ambition and pride[52] forced him into dangerous courses which ultimately sounded his death-knell.

CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY AND THE BATTLE OF IDGAH

Sultan Ali Shaḥ held his younger brother, Shahi Khan, in great affection,[53] and the repeated use of the expression "*Yuvaraja*" for the latter by Jonaraja unmistakably shows that the former declared him his heir-apparent.[54] This announcement was evidently made after the death of Malik Saif-ud-din, for during his life time Ali Shah would never have ventured to do so. After the exit of Laddaraja and Gaurabhatta, Yusuf bacame the undisputed master of Kashmir, and Ali Shah, as usual, played the second-fiddle to him. Emboldened by his success against Laddaraja, Yusuf prepared to get rid of Shahi Khan, the only political rival now left. Shahi Khan could scarcely reconcile with Yusuf's predominant position in the kingdom. A severe conflict between the two was inevitable. Shahi Khan started preparations for strengthening his position. He held a conference and entered into an alliance with the *Thākurs*[55], who were Muslims converted from the *Ksatriya* caste Hindus, a traditionally fighting-class, inhabiting the hill territories to the south of Kashmir.[56] But before Yusuf could take the lead and attack Shahi Khan at the time of his own choosing, the latter, supported by the *Thakurs*, gave him battle at Idgah in Srinagar. Yusuf was slain on the Idu'zuha day.[57] The year of this event is not mentioned in the chronicles. As the subsequent events show, it was most probably fought in the year 1418 A.D.

AS PRIME MINISTER

Jonaraja is silent about the stand Sultan Ali Shah took in the above conflict. But, according to a Persian source, Ali Shah's sympathy lay with Shahi Khan, and it was, in fact, at his instance that Yusuf was slain.[58] The battle of Idgah was a turning point in Shahi Khan's career. His victory was widely acclaimed. He became exceedingly popular among the people[59] who had suffered enough under "the administration of renegade *Brahmanas*."[60] As a natural consequence, Shahi Khan became the Prime Minister.[61] Efficient and intelligent, he enjoyed the confidence and affection of both the king and the people. At this quick and favourable turn of events, Shahi Khan began to aspire for the sovereignty of Kashmir. Jonaraja's statement is significant in this regard. He states ; "The Royal Fortune felt a desire to embrace the heir-apparent (Shahi Khan), now flushed with victory. But the time has not yet come for the prince to be a king, and Royal Fortune remained therefore, in a state of suspense."[63] This passage not only gives expression of the Prince's aspirations but also suggests a situation of conflict between the two brothers which the chronicler seems to have camouflaged beneath his poetic diction so that Shahi Khan, his patron and benefactor, might not be denigrated in the eyes of posterity for his act of treachery against his elder brother in return for affections and favours. If a Persian chronicler[64] is to be believed, a military contingent actually arrived in Kashmir from the Punjab on the invitation of Shahi Khan to assist him capture the throne. He, however, does not precisely mention the source from which this assistance was received. But we can safely assume the contingent to have been despatched by Jasrat Khokhar, the chief of Sialkot (a principality in the Punjab), who had his own reasons to support Shahi Khan.[65] No armed confrontation took place. What transpired between the two brothers is not reported but Shahi Khan had definitely ome to acquire the upper hand. Our sources[66] reveal that he concentrated all powers in his hands, reducing Sultan Ali Shah to the position of a mere figure-head. This was a sequel to Ali Shah's abdication in favour of Shahi Khan a little later.

ALI SHAH'S ABDICATION

One Mir Qaisar, an emigrant Muslim[67] with loose morals, was an influential political figure enjoying the confidence of Sultan Ali Shah. But for his active influence, the Sultan would have reconciled to the position of degradation to which he was reduced by his younger brother. As a result of Shahi Khan's elevation and his complete concentration of powers in his hands, Mir Qaisar became jealous and turned against him. He led a compaign of dissidents to arouse in Ali Shah the consciousness of humiliation, and frantically tried to make him assert his position as a Sultan. His constant goading seems to have had an opposite effect on the Sultan's mind which, on the contrarty, developed in him complete indifference towards everything including his kingdom from where he decided to withdraw amicably for pilgrimage.[68] This was the natural outcome of a feeble mind. With little or no self-confidence of any sort, faced with a situation of utter helplessness, deserted by his people, and betrayed by a younger brother on whom he pinned his hopes and showered all his affections, he decided to renounce the world.

Ali Shah expressed his resolve to Shahi Khan for undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca.[69] According to Jonaraja, Shahi Khan made spirited efforts to dissuade him to abandon his project. The long conversation that followed between the two brothers, as recorded by the chronicler[70], is merely an imaginary fabrication of a poet in an effort to make a case of righteousness in favour of his benefactor. Ali Shah bestowed the kingdom on Shahi Khan and set out for his mission The version given by Persian chroniclers and accepted by modern historians, Indian and European alike, that Shahi Khan was to hold the kingdom in trust as Regent[71] is not correct. The statement of Jonaraja, the contemporary authority for this period, is very clear on this point. He records Ali Shah as having blessed Shahi Khan on the eve of his departure in these words : "Long may you reign as *Suratrana* (Sultan) under the name of Jainollabhadina (Zain-ul-Abidin)."[72] This constitutes a conclusive evidence in support of the view that Sultan Ali Shah abdicated in favour of his younger brother, and consequently the theory put forward by the Persian chroniclers that Shahi Khan held the kingdom as Regent during Ali Shah's absence is untenable. Subsequent events lend further weight to the above view. Moreover, Jonaraja repeatedly refers to Shahi Khan during this period as the "new king."[73] Thus receiving the appellation from his brother, Shahi Khan assumed the sovereignty of Kashmir as Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. The date of his accession is not mentioned in the chronicles. It may be fixed in all probability sometime in July-August, 1419 A.D.[74]

ZAIN-UL-ABIDIN DETHRONED

Preparations for Ali Shah's journey were made under orders of the new Sultan whose anxiety to give him a quick and a cordial send-off is quite understandable. He gave Ali Shah horses and precious jewels and even went to the extent of accompanying him for two or three nights in his journey.[75] It means that Zain-ul-Abidin escorted him as far as the frontiers of his kingdom. The route which Ali Shah adopted is not mentioned. It was most probably the same road over the Pir Panjal Pass over which he was shortly afterwards to traverse to give a battle to his brother. On the way, Ali Shah's advisors tried to dissuade him from prosecuting his project by pointing to various troubles of the journey, the difficulty of attaining virtue and the small merit of visiting shrines.[76] When Ali Shah reached Jammu, on his way to Mecca, he met his father-in-law, Raja Billa Deva, the ruler of Jammu, who disapproved of his action and scolded him for giving up his throne.[77] Ali Shah felt repentent over his step, and, assisted by Jammu forces, prepared for an armed confrontation with Zain-ul-Abidin to recover his throne.[78] According to Abul Fazl, Ali Shah, persuaded by his "foolish and evil advisors and through inconstancy of purpose, returned with the view of recovering his authority in Kashmir."[79] The Jammu forces accompanied by Raja Billa Deva brought Ali Shah to Kashmir. Some Persian chroniclers mention the ruler of Rajauri to have also assisted him.[80] But Jonaraja does not mention it. On the contrary, a little later, in the event of an actual confrontation between the two brothers, Jonaraja states that the friendly chiefs including the ruler of Rajauri did not join Ali Shah, who, in retaliation, plundered his territory.[81] The assistance by Rajauri is also not referred to by Haidar Malik who mentions having reproduced this event from the work of Mulla Nadiri, the Poet Laureate of Zain-ul-Abidin.[82] Coming from the pen of two contemporaries and supported by Abul Fazl[83], the evidence that Ali Shah was assisted by the ruler of Jammu alone should be considered conclusive.

When Ali Shah, accompanied with the Jammu forces, reached Kashmir, Zain-ul-Abidin gave up the kingdom, the reason for which Jonaraja states in these words : "Glad at the return of his brother, but angry at the approach of the army of the ally of the king of Madra (Jammu), Shahi Khan became sunk in joy and displeasure at the same time. But the noble minded prince cast aside his anger, and out of his affection for his brother, gave up the kingdom."[84] This is nothing but the continuation of the chronicler's anxiety to portray the image of his patron as a righteous king. The reason assigned by a Persian chronicler is that as Zain-ul-Abidin held the kingdom in trust, he handed over the charge when Ali Shah claimed it on his return.[85] In fact, it was neither a case of affection nor of holding the kingdom in trust, as we have already seen, but a simple outcome of a state of unpreparedness which incapacitated Zain-ul-Abidin to give battle. Firishta's statement that Zain-ul-Abidin and his younger brother, Muhammad Khan, who was associated with the country's administration at the instance of Ali Shah, "flatly refused to acknowledge him,"[86] is significant. It clearly shows that the two brothers were not inclined to part with the kingdom peacefully, and it was only when they were overwhelmed by the show of strength that Zain-ul-Abidin, and possibly Muhammad Khan too, decided to quit Kashmir without offering any resistance. While he left Kashmir accompanied by his supporters, the *Thakurs*,[87] Ali Shah entered Kashmir aided by the Jammu forces[88], and took possession of the kingdom[89] again in Oct-Nov., 1419 A.D.[90] Zain-ul-Abidin thus ruled for about three months for he had ascended the throne in July-August, 1419 A.D. Nothing is known of what he did as a ruler during this brief period.

Parmu's theory that Ali Shah's abdication and his plan of pilgrimage was "only a stratagem to get rid of his popular brother"[91] is not convincing. His decision to do so was, indeed, the outcome of his utter indifference born out of sheer inability and inherent lack of confidence to manage the State, the political affairs of which "had gone against him to the extent that he preferred going on a pilgrimage to being dethroned by Shahi Khan."[92] The assertion that it was a stratagem cannot be accepted, for it was neither politically expedient nor militarily sound to transfer full sovereign powers to his opponent with a view to recovering them at a later date with the help of his ally. No ruler of whatever calibre would have committed such a folly. If he really wished to continue, his request for assistance from Jammu would have quickly brought him a military contingent. It was only his father-in-law's insistence and persuasion enforced by a promise of military aid because of which Ali Shah abandoned his mission and agreed to be restored.

FINAL CONTEST FOR THE THRONE

Battle of Thanna

The struggle did not, however, end with the escape of Zain-ul-Abidin. The two brothers engaged themselves in preparations for a final show-down culminating in a fierce battle at Thanna.[93] A close study of the contemporary chronicles provides an interesting account of the circumstances which led to this battle. The battle ended up with Ali Shah's destruction and Zain-ul-Abidin's accession.

The *Thakurs* who moved out with Zain-ul-Abidin during his flight from Kashmir were, it appears, a section of the *Rajputs* turned Muslims and inhabiting Thanna.[94] In all probability, Zain-ul-Abidin, owing to his intimacy and association with the *Thakurs*, made Thanna his temporary headquarter for a final show-down with his brother, Sultan Ali Shah. In his hour of crisis, he received an offer from Jasrat Khokhar, the chief of a small principality in the north-west of the Punjab, to visit him for shelter.[95] Accordingly, the Mughal sources mention him as taking refuge in Sialkot,[96] the capital city of Jasrat's kingdom. But his actual arrival in Sialkot is nowhere mentioned in Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini*. The fact appears to be that he carried on negotiations from Thanna with Jasrat for military assistance in the course of which he visited Sialkot as well. The ruler of Rajauri, in addition to the facilities he extended through the good offices of the *Thakurs*, appears to have rendered him military assistance as well. No such direct reference is found in Jonaraja's chronicle. But his statement regarding Ali Shah's hostile attitude towards the ruler of Rajauri makes the latter's military intervention on behalf of Zain-ul-Abidin a near certainty. Jonaraja writes : "As the king of Kashmir (Ali Shah) marched, the sun shone against him, and the chiefs who were friendly to him did not join him. The *Mleccha* (Muslim) army, maddened with pride, saw darkness personified in the dust that was raised by them. The king became furious, and caused Rajapuri (Rajauri) and other countries, which he should have taken under his protection, to be harassed by plunder as if they had been his enemy's territories."[97] This in conjunction with another statement of the chronicler that in the way "all the rulers bowed their heads before Shahi Khan in submission",[98] clearly suggests that other neighbouring hill-chiefs also offered their allegiance to Zain-ul-Abidin.

War machines were geared up on either side of the Pir Panjal Range. The astute tactician that Zain-ul-Abidin was, he pressed every conceivable device into service to outwit his opponent. The strategy he adopted was somehow to draw Ali Shah out of Kashmir for a battle.[99] It was made possible by a combination of various circumstances—Zain-ul-Abidin's diplomatic skill, and Ali Shah's misfortunes and follies. First, Jasrat's invitation to Zain-ul-Abidin for shelter in his kingdom enraged Ali Shah so much that he resolved to chastise Jasrat.[100] Secondly, exaggerated accounts of Zain-ul-Abidin's growing power and preparations were conveyed to Ali Shah with a view to provoking him into proceeding against his brother to forestall his designs.[101] Thirdly, Ali Shah, though restored, was not well received by the people.[102] Moreover, he became exceedingly unpopular on account of the misdoings of those of his servants and favourites who were emigrant Muslims led by Mir Qaisar. They threw Kashmir into a state of confusion by violating the wives of the Kashmiris, subjecting them to inequitous exactions, and to all sorts of oppressions.[103] Even the Sultan's property was not spared. Jonaraja observes : "Lofty houses, excellent horses, fine dresses, large gems,—all that adorned the king (Ali Shah) were now wrested by the *Yavanas* (foreign Muslims)."[104] Thus Ali Shah completely lost control over the management of the kingdom and played into their hands. Mir Qaisar, being on inimical terms with Zain-ul-Abidin, could spur him on to strike against his brother. Fourthly, Ali Shah's ministers, who lost their importance under this disgusting state of affairs and were won over by Zain-ul-Abidin, did not give their master the correct advice of desisting from such a move.[105] From the account of Jonaraja it is quite clear that the position of Ali Shah was not strong enough militarily to meet his enemy outside his territory. Even Ali Shah's soldiers protested in vain against undertaking any such military adventure.[106] Conscious of the king's weakness, his ministers deliberately allowed him to take a suicidal step for his own eventual destruction.

Sultan Ali Shah took at last the fateful decision of attacking his enemy before the latter could strike at the time of his own choosing. It was not a sound move, and was taken in haste. Among his brother's allies, Ali Shah had a formidable fighting force of the *Khokhars* to face. He went through the Pir Panjal Pass[107] and stationed his troops on a certain mountain.[108] Right at this moment he received a message from his father-in-law not to descend from the mountain until he was reinforced by the Jammu forces. The Jammu ruler wrote : "Though in your camp there be infantry possessed of wealth, and swift horses, and warriors skilled in fight, yet be not confident in your war against the world-renowned artifices of the *Khuhkhurus* (*Khokhars*). We know their artifices in battle, for serpents, not others, know the ways of serpents. So long as we do not come to your help, you should remain stationary in the mountain."[109] It clearly shows that Raja Billa Deva was aware of the relative strength of the two armies, and the final outcome that emerged proved him right. Ali Shah ignored his father-in-law's advice under the influence of his army officers, who took it as a trick of the Jammu ruler to gain renown for himself.[110] He plundered Rajauri and other neighbouring principalities.[111] However, before he could come out with all his forces from Thanna, on his way back to Kashmir,[112] he was "taken unawares" by his brother and the latter's allies.[113] When Ali Shah, it appears, plundered the territories unchallenged by his enemies, he decided to return to Kashmir visualising no trouble from the *Khokhars* or taking the news of their impending attack to be untrue. However, the battle that followed at Thanna was a fierce one[114] in which about ten thousand people were slain.[115] Among others, Zain-ul-Abidin is mentioned to have lost one of his distinguished military commanders, Malik Daulat Chand, who was immediately replaced by his son Malik Autar Chand.[116] Ali Shah was finally defeated, and fell into the hands of Jarsat Khokhar[117] who put him to death[118] in all probability with the tacit approval of Zain-ul-Abidin. A large amount of plunder fell in the hands of Jasrat Khokhar[119] and it was subsequently utilised by him in his campaign against the *Sayyid* ruler of Delhi.[120]

ZAIN-UL-ABIDIN'S FINAL ACCESSION

With this battle the civil war came to an end.[121] Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin entered Kashmir triumphantly and ascended the throne in the month of *Jyestha* in the *Laukika* year (44) 96 which corresponds to May/June, 1420 A.D.[122] His court chronicler describes the occasion thus : "The sinless Shri Jainollabhadina (Zain-ul-Abidin), flushed with success, entered Kashmir like propitious fate. This king called forth words of praise from the lips of good people, and filled all sides with the sound of the kettledrum, and entered the capital, but not before he had entered into the hearts of the people. When the king bathed during his coronation, the minds of his subjects were washed clean ; and when he displayed his royal umbrella, the power of his enemies became still."[123] He signalled his tenure of over half a century by distributing immediately after his accession high places and *jagirs* to all those who rendered him loyal and meritorious services during his struggle for the throne.[124] The chief recipients were the *Thakurs*[125] to whom in addition to Jasrat Khokhar Zain-ul-Abidin practically owed his throne.

REFERENCES

1. Jonaraja (St. 577) mentions her as Mera which should be taken as Meraj for the chronicler hardly ever states the Muslim names correctly. See, for instance, Piruja for Firuz as above. Nicholls suggests that it might possibly have been Miran : (*Archaeological Report*, (1906-7), p. 161, 1n). Mohibbul Hasan accepts Mira as given in Dutt's translation of Jonaraja's chronicle ignoring that it is unmistakably a typical Hindu name : (p. 61)
2. Jonaraja, St. 577. For the identification of Udabhandapura see Appendix A—(*iii*).
3. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 715.
4. *Munich MS.*, f. 62a. Jonaraja's statement that Shahi Khan's mother was born in the family of Shahi suggests that Firuz was a descendant of the Shahi rulers of Gandhara : (St. 578).
5. Jonaraja, Stt. 372-73.
6. *Munich MS.*, f. 62a.
7. Jonaraja, St. 577.
8. See Appendix B—(*i*).
9. Jonaraja, St. 587. Of the five sons of Sikandar only these three are mentioned in the Persian chronicles : (Firishta, p. 466 ; Nizamuddin, p. 649 ; Sayyid Ali, ff. 12a, 15a).
10. Jonaraja, Stt. 544, 588. Also see Srikanth Kaul, *R. T.*, Intro., p. 92, 4n.
11. Jonaraja, Stt. 588, 645-46. Jonaraja writes Piruja for Firuz. It is noteworthy that Sikandar had from different wives two sons of the same name, Muhammad.

12. *Munich MS.*, f. 63a. The kingdom of Sind mentioned in the manuscript should be understood as Sindhu in the Gandhara region.
13. Srivara, I, vii, St. 221.
14. Buhler was the first to discover, with the assistance of Kashmiri scholars, the year 3076-75 B.C. as the commencement of the *Laukika* or *Saptarsi* era : (For details see Stein, *R. T.*, I, pp. 58-59 ; *Buhlar's Report*, J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol XII, Extra Number, (1877), pp. 59-60).
15. *Ain.*, II, p. 374 ; Firishta, p. 474.
16. J.A.S.B., Vol. XXII, (1956), No. I, pp. 85-86. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has at one place given both the *Laukika* and the *Hijri* dates side by side. *Laukika* is correctly given while its *Hijri* equivalent is incorrect : (p. 54).
17. J.A.S.B., LXV, pt. I, (1896), p. 225.
18. Sayyid Ali, f. 12a.
19. Jonaraja, St. 577.
20. *Baharistan.*, p. 53 ; Haidar Malik, p. 34 ; Narayan Kaul, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, f. 48a.
21. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
22. Jonaraja does not mention the name of Shobha Devi's father. But he states elsewhere in his work that Sikandar married the daughters of the ruler of Jammu without naming them : (Bo. ed., St. 729). We have references to Sikandar's marriages with Meraj and Shobha. Since we know for certain that Meraj was the daughter of the ruler of Ohind, it should not be difficult to accept Shobha Devi as the daughter of the ruler of Jammu of Jonaraja. The ruler was probably the same, whom Timur converted to Islam by force (*Zafar Nama*, (E & D), III, p. 472) and who, it appears, returned to his ancestral faith as soon as the conqueror withdrew.
23. Jonaraja, St. 544.
24. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 166.
25. *Baharistan.*, p. 53 ; Haidar Malik, p. 34.
26. Jonaraja, St. 673 ; Srikanth Kaul, R.T., Intro., p. 101 ; I.A., Vol. 58, (1929), p. 194.
27. Sayyid Ali, f. 15a. 28 Ibid.
29. Syke, *History of Persia*, II, p. 134.
30. *Tarikh-i-Azami*, (Urdu tr.), p. 103 ; *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru*, f. 86b ; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (Urdu tr.), II, pp. 166-67.
31. Newall, J.A.S.B.. Vol. 23, (1854), p. 415 ; Jarrett, J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIX, pt. I, (1880), p. 19.
32. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 60, 5n ; Parmu, p. 159, 132n ; Sufi, *Kashir*, I, p. 145.
33. *Shabab-i-Kashmir*, p. 10.
34. Srivara, I, vii, St. 225 ; Firishta, p. 474.

35. *Shabab-i-Kashmir*, p. 10.
36. Ibid., p. 9. For details see *Tuzuk.*, I, pp. 94-95. But Jahangir does not mention the name and age of Zain-ul-Abidin's son.
37. Sayyid Ali, f. 17a.
38. Even Muhammad Din Fauq has preferred to abandon his earlier stand in his revised edition of *Shabab-i-Kashmir* entitled *Tarikh-i-Badshahi* : (See pp. 48-52).
39. Jonaraja, Stt. 617, 631, 646, 648, 673, 683, etc.
40. Ibid, St. 677. 41. Ibid., St. 678.
42. Ibid., (Bo. ed.), St. 891.
43. Ibid., St. 680. See Appendix B—(ii).
44. Laddaraja was a Muslim minister of Ali Shah, for his son is mentioned by Jonaraja as Nasrat which is unmistakably a Muslim name : (Jonaraja, St. 840).
45. Hamsabhatta of Jonaraja was a Hindu convert, renamed Malik Yusuf : (*Munich MS.*, 67a). Jonaraja very rarely mentions a Hindu convert by his Muslim name.
46. Nothing is mentioned about the religion of Gaurabhatta. He was originally a *Brahmana*, but seems to have become a Muslim. Had it not been so, he could not have enjoyed the confidence of Saif-ud-din, the architect of anti-Hindu policy.
47. *Munich MS.*, f. 66a. 48. Ibid. 49. Jonaraja, Stt. 683-88.
50. Ibid., St. 682. 51. *Munich MS.*, f. 66b.
52. Jonaraja, St. 687. 53. Ibid., St. 691.
54. Ibid , Stt. 690, 695. 55. Ibid., Stt. 687-88.
56. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 306 ; Stein, *R.T.*, I, vii, 290n.
57. *Munich MS.*, f. 67a. Jonaraja only mentions the event but not the place of battle or the day on which it was fought : (St. 688).
58. *Munich MS.*, f. 67a. 59. Jonaraja, St. 689.
60. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 101.
61. Sayyid Ali, f. 15a ; Nizamuddin, p. 650 ; *Munich MS.*, f. 67a.
62. Jonaraja, St. 691. Nizamuddin also speaks highly of the Prince's intelligence and bravery : (p. 650).
63. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 69. 64. Sayyid Ali, f. 15a.
65. Jonaraja, Stt. 729-30.
66. Ibid., St. 691 ; Nizamuddin, p. 650 ; Firishta, p. 467.
67. Singh, *R.T.*, p. 403, 692n (2).
68. Jonaraja, Stt. 692-95, 721-22.
69. Jonaraja does not state about Ali Shah's destination, but Mecca is mentioned by the Persian sources : (Haidar Malik, p 45 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 37 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 382).
70. Jonaraja, Stt. 695 Sqq.

71. *Ain.*, II, p. 382 ; Nizamuddin, p. 650 ; Firishta, p. 467 ; *Munich MS.*, f. 68a ; Haig, J.R.A.S., Vol. L, (1918), p. 455 ; *Camb. History of India*, III, p. 280 ; Jarrett, J. A. S. B., (1880), p. 18 ; Parmu, p. 131. Mohibbul Hasan is non-committal on this point.
72. Jonaraja, St. 707.
73. Ibid., (Bo.ed.), Stt. 716, 730, 735.
74. See Appendix B—(iii). 75. Jonaraja, St. 709.
76. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 71. The attempt by interested persons to dissuade him is also mentioned by the Persian chroniclers : (Ain., II, p. 382 ; Firishta, p. 467 ; Nizamuddin, p. 651).
77. Nizamuddin, pp. 467-68 ; Haidar Malik, p. 45 ; J.P.H.S., Vol. III, p. 117. They mention Bhim Deva for Billa Deva.
78. Firishta, p. 468 ; Haidar Malik, p. 45 ; Nizamuddin, p. 651.
79. *Ain.*, II, p. 382.
80. Nizamuddin, p. 651 ; Firishta, p. 468 ; *Munich MS* , f. 68a. Their version is accepted by the modern historians : (J.R.A. S., (1918), p. 455 ; Haig, *Camb. History of India*, III, p. 280 ; J.P.H.S., (1925), Vol, IX, Pt. II, p. 144 ; Parmu, p. 133 ; Mohibbul Hasan, p. 69).
81. Jonaraja, St. 739.
82. Haidar Malik, p. 45. Mulla Nadiri's history of Kashmir in Persian is not extant but is referred to by the Persian chroniclers of Kashmir.
83. *Ain.*, II, p. 382. 84. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 72.
85. *Munich MS.*, f. 68a. 86. Firishta, pp. 467-68.
87. Jonaraja, St. 716. 88. *Ain.*, II, p. 382 ; Jonaraja, St. 717.
89. Nizamuddin, p. 651 ; *Ain.*, II, pp. 383-84 ; Jonaraja, St. 718 ; Firishta, p. 468.
90. See Appendix B—(iv).
91. Parmu, p. 132.
92. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 102.
93. See Appendix A—(i) regarding the venue of this battle and its identification.
94. Islam was introduced in the Rajauri area by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-1388 A.D.) : (*Tuzuk.*, II, p. 181).
95. Jonaraja, St. 730.
96. Firishta, p. 468 ; Nizamuddin, p. 651. Abul Fazl also mentions that Zain-ul-Abidin joined Jasrat Khokhar in the Punjab : (Ain., II, p. 383).
97. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 74.
98. Ibid., St. 716. 99. Ibid., St. 731.
100. Ibid., St. 732. 101. Ibid., St. 734.
102. Ibld., St. 718. 103. Ibid., Stt. 720-24.
104. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 73. 105. Ibid., St. 733.
106. Ibid., St. 736.

107. The route is not mentioned in the chronicles in connection with this campaign. But the only convenient road lay through the Pir Panjal Pass via Poshana and Bahramgalla to Thanna and Rajauri: (See for details *Tuzuk.*, II, pp. 179-80).

108. Jonaraja, St. 744. 109. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 74-75.
110. Ibid., St. 745. 111. Ibid., St. 739.
112. Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 54. 113. Badauni, p. 381.
114. Jonaraja, Stt. 746 48; Haidar Malik, p. 45.
115. Nizamuddin, p. 652. 116. Haidar Malik, p. 45.

117. Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 54. Different versions are given. According to Nizamuddin (p. 652) and Firishta (p. 468), Sultan Ali Shah fled after his defeat. Firishta, however, quotes another version that he was captured: (p. 468). Haidar Malik, however, states that he was captured and imprisoned at Pakhli where he died afterwards: (p. 55).

118. Jonaraja, (Singh), St. 749 and note (i), p. 428. It is corroborated by another contemporary Sanskrit chronicler, Srivara: (1, iii, St. 107).

119. Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 54. 120. Badauni, p. 381.

121. Some Persian sources mention Uri in Kashmir instead of Thanna as the scene of battle between the two brothers: (Haidar Malik, *MS* (*I.O.*), f. 115b; Hasan, f. 115a). On this basis Mohibbul Hasan concludes that the civil war still continued and ended only after the battle of Uri: (p. 70).

122. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1324; Srivara, 1, vii, St. 224. It also agrees with Yahya's date of the battle of Thanna immediately after which Zain-ul-Abidin ascended the throne. The date given by Yahya is *Jamad-ul-Awwal* 823 A.H. which corresponds to May/June, 1420 A.D.: (p. 54).

123. Jonaraja, (Dutt), pp. 75-76.
124. Ibid., (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1325-34. 125. Ibid.

डा. डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय

463

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

If the greatness of a major historical epoch is measured partly by the extent of its cultural contacts and partly by the adoption of a policy towards other principalities for a given ideal, then the period of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin can certainly be regarded as one of the most glorious and inspiring ones in Indian history. A period of comparative stagnation forced by the mighty natural ramparts encircling the Valley had come to an end and the new era of varied and wholesome influences on the cultural plane had begun. Kashmir's contacts covered a large number of states in northern India, and extended to Tibet in the east, Khurasan in the north-west, Mecca, Gilan and other places in the south and south-west as far as Egypt. All this was made possible by an exceptionally long spell of comparative internal peace and immunity from foreign invasions which Kashmir enjoyed during this period. Zain-ul-Abidin is portrayed by his chroniclers as enthusiastically cultivating the arts of peace ; he fought only for legitimate territorial rights. His reign is not known for any stirring military exploits and the rattling noise of horses' hooves resounding in the walled Valley. His military expeditions were limited to measures of self-defence and to the task of re-establishing his paramountcy over territories which formed part of his father's and grandfather's sphere of political supremacy. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was never motivated by the lust of aggression. His chronicler[1] explains : "Though great in strength, the king of the world (Zain-ul-Abidin) undertook expeditions only when there was an enemy to overcome. The sun marches through the sky only to overcome the moon and stars. Powerful as he was, he did not wish to conquer others for the thirst of wealth : the lion does not kill elephants for the sake of meat." A lover of peace, Zain-ul-Abidin conducted his peace policy through a position of strength. He thoroughly reorganised his army into an efficient fighting force with able commanders and effective weapons.

Zain-ul-Abidin formulated and developed his foreign policy as dictated by exigencies of the time. His first concern after obtaining the throne was to consolidate his position in the kingdom. With this end in view he sought to secure the safety of the borders against the turbulent neighbouring chiefs partly by diplomacy and partly by military action. While the process of consolidation continued, Zain-ul-Abidin almost simultaneously initiated in the later part of his reign the policy of establishing foreign contacts, and exchanged cultural embassies with the chiefs of Indian states and foreign potentates. It is in this sequence of development that his conduct of foreign affairs has been classified into various heads.

RELATIONS WITH JASRAT KHOKHAR

Of Malik Shaikh Khokhar's[2] two sons, Nasrat Shaikh Khokhar and Jasrat Shaikh Khokhar, the latter was a soldier of great skill and enterprise. The position occupied by Malik in the Punjab under the Sultans of Delhi is not mentioned in the chronicles. Jasrat is, however, mentioned as the chief of the *Khokhar* tribe.[3] That his father too, like him, was the chief of the tribe may be assumed in view of the hereditary law of succession generally prevalent in the tribal political organisations. By sheer dint of his ability and valour, Jasrat succeeded in carving out an independent principality for himself in the northern Punjab with its headquarters at Sialkot[4]. The entire range of his political activities reveals him as an over-ambitious adventurist striking with arms at every suitable opportunity, and adroitly concluding alliances and breaking them at every turn of diplomatic expediency.

The beginnings of Kashmir's relations with Jasrat go back to the time of Sultan Sikandar with whose help Jasrat recovered his kingdom.[5] It has a possible reference to his restoration subsequent to his release from the captivity at Samarqand. During Timur's invasion (1398-1399 A.D.) Jasrat had become instrumental in giving guidance and passing information to Timur and who, in recognition of Jasrat's services, rewarded him with money and favours.[6] True to his class as the chief of a turbulent tribe, Jasrat soon incurred the conquror's displeasure and was imprisoned.[7] Timur carried him off to Samarqand as a captive, and Jasrat could secure his release only sometime after the captor's death[8] (1405 A.D.). On his return to the Punjab, Jasrat wsa naturally left with nothing. It was possibly at this stage that Zain-ul-Abidin's father, Sultan Sikandar, helped him recover his principality to which Jonaraja refers in his chronicle.[9]

As already mentioned, Zain-ul-Abidin had secured the kingdom of Kashmir with the assistance of Jasrat Khokhar, who, according to Jonaraja,[10] was prompted by three reasons. First, Jasrat wanted to repay the debt of gratitude he owed to his father, Sultan Sikandar. Secondly, he was greatly hostile towards the ruler of Jammu whose son-in-law was Sultan Ali Shah. Thirdly, he was anxious to multiply his fortune.

It is rather difficult to comprehend how the chief of a turbulent tribe, "an imprudent rustic",[11] could have been inspired by a sincere feeling of gratitude. On the contrary, we have the testimony of Srivara that Jasrat went even to the extent of grabbing Kashmir after the fall of Ali Shah but from whose hands Muhammad Magre, one of Zain-ul-Abidin's loyal commanders, saved the kingdom.[12] Jasrat, in fact, had aimed at a bigger game by first supporting Zain-ul-Abidin to annihilate his enemy's son-in-law and then laying his hands on the kingdom of Kashmir itself. In what manner Muhammad Magre saved the kingdom from the hands of Jasrat has not been recorded by Srivara. The mere fact, however, that an army commander was instrumental in saving the kingdom clearly shows that there was an armed conflict between Jasrat and the Kashmir forces. But soon the conflict appears to have ended in a treaty of friendship as is revealed by subsequent events. It was possibly agreed upon that Jasrat would abandon his designs on Kashmir in return for assistance in men and material which he secured for carrying out his expansionist schemes in the Punjab and Delhi.[13] It was now in this direction that Jasrat became "anxious to increase his fortune."[14]

Zain-ul-Abidin was a clever tactician and his diplomatic genius found its fullest expression in the handling of his relations with Jasrat. Jasrat was the chief of a turbulent tribe which took delight in war and destruction. Zain-ul-Abidin obviously knew him to be an ambitious adventurist. The allied army which restored him to the throne after the battle of Thanna was still in Kashmir[15] with a sinister motive. Raja Billa Deva of Jammu who, as his continued hostile attitude towards Jasrat shows,[16] naturally burned with the desire of avenging his son-in-law's death caused by Jasrat with the tacit approval of Zain-ul-Abidin, was a constant danger. Zain-ul-Abidin was still to go a long way before he could be in a position to outwit Jasrat's designs through a decisive military action, for the latter was militarily more powerful.[17] These circumstances required of him a great deal of caution. The only alternative open to him was to have recourse to diplomacy. This he possibly realised only after limited military action and hurriedly bought off his hostile ally by holding out the promise of assisting Jasrat for his conquests elsewhere as a measure of strategy.[18] His main aim was, as the subsequent events were to show, to divert Jasrat's turbulent spirit so that he might perpetually remain invovled in the political complications of the Punjab and Delhi,[19] and in a constant state of confrontation with the ruler of Jammu who became a faithful ally of the *Sayyid* Sultans of Delhi [20] Once involved in the distractions unleashed by the succession of weak rulers of the *Sayyid* dynasty, Jasrat could not extricate himself till the end.

Already in the battle of Thanna (1420 A.D.) a vast amount of plunder fell into Jasrat's hands.[21] With this plunder, and the large army supplied by Zain-ul-Abidin,[22] Jasrat remained on the look-out for an opportune moment for the conquest of the Punjab and Delhi, a moment which presented itself on the death of Khizr Khan[23] (1421 A.D.). Jasrat set out for his projected mission and succeeded in subduing large parts of the Punjab including Lahore, Jullundur, and Ludhiana, but was soon completely routed by Sultan Sayyid Mubarak Shah II (1421-1433 A.D.) of Delhi in 1421.[24] The greater part of "his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost."[25] Raja Billa Dava had acted as the guide of Mubarak Shah against Jasrat.[26] After this dismal failure, Jasrat, under Zain-ul-Abidin's inspiration and with his assistance, made a number of attempts between 1421 and 1441 A.D. to achieve his objective, but he could not succeed beyond capturing the Punjab which he occupied as and when it slipped from the feeble hands of the Sayyid Sultans of Delhi.[27] During this period, however, certain important events occurred. Raja Billa Deva of Jammu, in close alliance with the Sultan of Delhi, was intent on utilising every possible opportunity of striking against Jasrat but was eventually killed by the latter in one of the battles in 1423 A.D.[28] Jasrat concluded an alliance in 1441 A.D. with Buhlol Lodi, Governor of the Punjab, and instigated him to make an attempt to seize the kingdom of Delhi which, however, proved abortive.[29] They, however, fell apart, for Jasrat is recorded to have been defeated by Sultan Buhlol Lodi (1451-1488 A.D.), after which he fled to Kashmir.[30] Referring to this event, Jonaraja mentions the grant of protection to Jasrat by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.[31] With the help of Kashmir forces Jasrat again occupied the Punjab.[32] The date of the occupation is not given. But it was perhaps the last time, for after this event Jasrat disappears—to be eventually slain by his wife, a daughter of the late Jammu ruler, in revenge for the death of her father.[33]

Zain-ul-Abidin's policy towards Jasrat was pre-eminently successful. By giving subsidies to Jasrat, he, on the one hand, engaged him perpetually in his visionary schemes of conquest, and thus saved his kingdom from the depradations of the warlike *Khokhars*, while on the other hand, he saved Kashmir from the war of revenge of the Jammu ruler.

RELATIONS WITH JAMMU

Jammu had sunk into the position of a feudatory state of Kashmir after its conquest by Sultan Shihab-ud-din.[34] It was subdued again in the time of Sikandar, and its ruler Billa Deva paid tribute and presented his daughter to the Sultan.[35] She was Shobha Devi, who became the Sultan's chief queen.[36] A Jammu princess was also married to his eldest son, Ali Shah.[37] It was with the help of his father-in-law that Ali Shah had recovered his throne from his brother Shahi Khan. Conflict with Jammu continued even after Shahi Khan's accession, and Billa Deva, as already noted, was slain in a battle in 1423 A.D. by Zain-ul-Abidin's ally, Jasrat Khokhar. Picking up the thread of hostility, Jasrat operated against his successor Maladeva. Maladeva was defeated and captured. He was, however, released by Jasrat through the intervention of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.[38] Kashmir's relations with Jammu, as existing between a lord-paramount and a subordinate state, remained cordial throughout Zain-ul-Abidin's reign, for we do not hear of any expedition sent to chastise the ruler of Jammu during this period. On the contrary, the Jammu ruler, in accordance with a nearly established custom, is recorded to have sent his two daughters to the Kashmir Sultan. Jonaraja records : "Like Dashratha, the king had four sons given unto him, and they were the delight of the people, and were born of the two daughters of the king of Madra (Jammu). The eldest was named Adam Khan, the second Hejyakhana (Haji Khan), the younger ones were named Jasrathakhana (Jasrat Khan), and Bahrama Khana."[39]

This reference of Jonaraja poses certain problems.

(i) Marriage with two sisters is not permissible in Islam.[40] Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin being a true Muslim, observing *Ramzan* fasts and devoted to religious meditation,[41] was not expected to have committed such an un-Islamic act. Singh has, however, sought to resolve this riddle by taking the two daughters to be through two different wives of the Jammu ruler.[42] Another explanation can also be given. They may have been real sisters, but the second one could have been given in marriage after the death of the first. We do not find any reference to them in any source beyond their giving birth to the four sons of Zain-ul-Abidin.

(ii) While references to Zain-ul-Abidin's three sons, Adam Khan, Haji Khan and Bahram Khan are frequently found in the Persian sources, the name of Jasrat Khan is mentioned by none. Even Jonaraja does not mention him again. It can, however, be explained by regarding Jasrat to have died very young.

(iii) The names of the two Jammu princesses are not given by Jonaraja. No other authority gives us any clue.

(iv) Jonaraja has not mentioned the date either of the release of Maladeva or of the matrimonial alliances with Zain-ul-Abidin. But these dates can be placed in the early years of the Sultan's reign for otherwise how can we explain Haji Khan's attempt, when he was fifty years of age, to kill his father for fear of being outlived without obtaining the kingdom.[43]

ANNEXATION OF OUTER-HILL STATES

Naushahra

Naushahra was a hill-state situated to the immediate south of Rajapuri. Its peaceful incorporation into the kingdom of Kashmir was the culmination of Zain-ul-Abidin's diplomatic dealings with Mir Sayyid Nasir Baihaqi, a descendant ot the chiefs of Sabzwar in Persia.[44] His father, Sayyid Hasan Baihaqi, through the influence of his uncle Mir Sayyid Mahmud in the court of Delhi,[45] appears to have gained a foothold in Naushahra. A brave man and a fighter, Sayyid Hasan managed to raise an efficient army and exacted tributes from the chiefs of neighbouring hill-states through his sword. But, before long, he died while fighting with one of the Hindu chiefs, Raja Jasrat.[46] Sayyid Hasan's youngest son, Sayyid Nasir, however, avenged his father's death by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Raja.[47] The name of the principality over which he ruled is not mentioned. But in all likelihood it was the kingdom of Rajapuri, for we learn that as late as the time of Emperor Jahangir the title of Raja was still in use there even after their conversion to Islam.[48] These developments so close to his borders were a matter of serious concern for Zain-ul-Abidin. Besides, one of the parties was Rajapuri, an ally of Kashmir.[49] With a view to ensuring the safety of his borders, the Sultan preferred diplomacy to an appeal to arms. He invited the Sayyid to visit Kashmir and the latter, after being duly assured of personal safety, arrived in the Valley with his son, Mirak Sayyid Hasan, and the entourage through the Pir Panjal-Hirapura route, i.e., via Rajapuri. They were duly received. Sayyid Nasir was diplomatically pursuaded to cede his principality and to receive its viceroyalty. This is amply clear from a statement of the Persian chronicler that the Sultan "conferred upon him the government and administration of that region."[50] What led the Sayyid to accept this arrangement has not been recorded. It can, however, be explained by the precarious position to which Sayyid Nasir had possibly been reduced by the hostility of the neighbouring chiefs, and the turbulence of tribes inhabiting Naushahra. In fact, under his successor a tribal rising had to be suppressed with the help of reinforcements from Kashmir.[51] Sayyid Nasir was poisoned to death in 1426 A.D. by one of his disloyal servants.[52] He was formally succeeded to the viceroyalty by his equally able son, Mirak Sayyid Hasan,[53] who is recorded to have rendered remarkable military service to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in his campaign or Ladakh.[54]

Rajapuri

Rajapuri[55] had political relations with Kashmir whose sovereignty it acknowledged only when the Kashmir ruler was strong enough to enforce it.[56] As already noted, the king of Rajapuri had also extended help to Zain-ul-Abidin in wresting the kingdom of Kashmir finally from his brother Ali Shah in 1420 A.D. Yet the Sultan had to send his infantry to Rajapuri which defeated its ruler Ranaseha.[57] Possibly the successor of Raja Jasrat, he attempted to adopt an independent policy which necessitated an attack from Kashmir. It is not mentioned whether Rajapuri was placed under the charge of a governor or whether Ranaseha was restored under the suzerainty of Kashmir. There is a meaningful reference to Kashmir's relations with Rajapuri by Srivara who records : "It was here (Zainatilak) that the king (Zain-ul-Abidin), on the anniversary of his birthday' marked Jayasimha of Rajapuri, with the symbol of royalty. The king .... was pleased with the services rendered by Jayasimha, and as he sat here, he gave Jayasimha the charge of the beautiful kingdom of Rajapuri."[58] It strongly suggests the restoration of an indigenous Hindu rule in Rajapuri under Jayasimha, as his Hindu name unmistakably conveys. On the basis of the two references of Jonaraja and Srivara given above, we may safely conclude that after the defeat of Ranaseha, Rajapuri was placed under direct administrative control of Kashmir through a governor. Srivara's reference to Haji Khan's rule as governor "over the outer country"[59] after his arrival in Lohara is meant to include not only Lohara but Rajapuri as well.[60] It stands confirmed when Srivara speaks, in the same sequence, of the "good wishes" of the people of Rajapuri for Haji Khan in his fight against his father.[61]

The nature of services rendered by Jayasimha to the Sultan, however, are not mentioned by Srivara nor does he record the date of the investiture ceremony of Jayasimha, or the birth anniversary of Zain-ul-Abidin. But from the fact that the town of Zainatilak, where the ceremonies were performed, was founded after the flood of 1462 A.D.,[62] we may place the date sometime between 1464 and 1470[63] if we allow a period of at least two years for the magnificent town to be completed. We know from different sources that the Sultan's later years were constantly disturbed by the rebellions of his sons.[64] It is not unlikely that Jayasimha helped him in a campaign against one of his sons.

Lohara

The state of Lohara, which gave to Kashmir two dynasties of ancient rulers, had been intimately connected with Kashmir politics.[65] It generally accepted the paramountcy of Kashmir rulers though at times when a weakling sat upon the throne of Kashmir, its allegiance became more fictional than real. But, with the coming of the Muslims, Kashmir under Shihab-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din made unsuccessful attempts to bring Lohara back into the orbit of its political supremacy.[66] But it was in Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's time that Lohara was conquered and brought under an effective political and administrative control of Kashmir. It was the immediate outcome of Kashmir's internal politics. Being ambitious, Zain-ul-Abidin's two sons, Adam Khan and Haji Khan, became hostile to each other, and the Sultan thought it inexpedient to keep them together at his court lest they engage themselves in an armed conflict.[67] He sent his second son, Haji Khan, to Lohara[68] which the latter conquered and brought under his occupation.[69] He was appointed governor and the outer hill districts including Lohara were placed under his charge.[70] The date of its conquest and the appointment of Haji Khan is not given. The conquest took place in any case in or before 1452 A.D. when Haji Khan, abandoning his post, plunged into the politics of Kashmir.[71] According to Srivara, Zain-ul-Abidin once paid a visit to its capital Loharakotta, and caused a dilapidated palace there to be repaired.[72] Lohara was under a Hindu dynasty of *Rajput* rulers[73] whose rule came to an end with its conquest by Haji Khan, for we do not come across any subsequent reference to it.[74] The extinction of the Hindu dynasty is confirmed by a later reference to Muhammad Shah, the great-grandson of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who during the period of his fourth reign (1517-1528 A.D.) "came to Lohara and exacted revenues and other taxes from towns like the former sovereigns of the country."[75]

Towards the close of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign, his grandson, Hasan Khan, was the governor of Lohara from where he proceeded to Kashmir to assist his father Haji Khan against Adam Khan's attempt to seize the throne.[76]

RELATIONS WITH THE BHAUTTAS

To the immediate east and north-east of Kashmir are situated the high-level valleys comprising the modern districts of Ladakh and Baltistan inhabited by the people of "Tibetan race and language."[77] They are referred to as *Bhauttas* in the Sanskrit chronicles. The two mountain states, till recently known as Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Great Tibet (Ladakh),[78] formed part of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth century,[79] and then passed into the hands of their local chiefs often at feud with each other.[80]

Shihab-ud-din was the first Sultan of Kashmir to have conquered Ladakh and Baltistan, and to receive tributes from them. Baltistan was subdued again by Sultan Sikandar. However, in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, a major military operation was carried out in this region with the help of a large army composed of 20,000 cavalry and one lakh infantry.[81] The commanders who led the forces were Muhammad Magre, Malik Masud Thakur, Hilmat Raina and Sayyid Hasan.[82] Malik Autar Chand, one of the heroes of the battle of Thanna, was appointed commander-in-chief.[83] The expedition was necessitated by the receipt of information in Kashmir that the ruler of Kashghar was planning to capture Ladakh and Baltistan.[84] The Sultan went into action partly due to his anxiety to protect a feudatory region but chiefly in the larger interests of national security.[85] The route taken was the usual one through the Zoji-la Pass. While on his way to Ladakh, Zain-ul-Abidin boosted the morale of his soldiers by addressing them in the *Pargana* of Lar.[86] The Persian sources speak of a bloody battle at Sheh in Ladakh between the forces of Kashmir and of Kashghar. Jonaraja's reference in this connection is very brief. He writes : "Victorious in war in Shayadesa that king (Zain-ul-Abidin) saved the golden image of Buddha from the *Yavanas*."[87] This reference studied in the light of Persian accounts assumes importance as a corroborative evidence, for Jonaraja's *Yavanas* were foreign Muslims denoting the Kashghar soldiers.[88]

Baharistan-i-Shahi[89] gives a detailed account of the battle of Sheh. Despite the opponent's superiority in numbers, its author states, the Kashmir troops showed conspicuous courage and fighting ability after some initial signs of weariness and inaction caused naturally by their rapid marches through a long and exceedingly difficult terrain from Kashmir to Sheh. The two forces drew closer for a head-on confrontation. The Sultan's right flank attacked the left wing of the Kashghar forces and the left flank struck at their centre. A fierce battle waged all day without a decision. The next morning, the Kashmir troops pounced on their enemy with redoubled fury and clinched the issue in their favour by sheer dint of exceptional courage and fighting spirit. However, the casualities were heavy on both sides. The news of victory was immediately conveyed to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin who was stationed at a safe distance from the battle-field. While the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* attributes this victory to Sayyid Hasan's superb generalship and personal valour, Haidar Malik credits Malik Autar Chand whose *Jagirs*, he states,[90] were enlarged in recognition of his successful conclusion of the battle.

No direct corroboration of this expedition is available from the Ladakhi sources, but two references are very significant. First, it attributes to the Ladakhi king, bLo-gros-mchog-lden (1440-1470 A.D.), an expedition to Guge and the capture of rich booty.[91] We also learn, in continuation of the above expedition, that Zain-ul-Abidin invaded the country of Gogga[92] which is identified with Guge in Tibet.[93] The two accounts can be reconciled by admitting that the Ladakhi king was pursuaded to join them in their expedition to Guge and, therefore, he shared the booty.[94] Secondly, the brother of bLo-gros-mchog-lden is mentioned as Drungpa Ali.[95] The occurrence of a half-Muhammedan name is extraordinary in those early times when Buddhism was in the ascendant. It is, however, sought to be explained in either of the two following ways : (*i*) The Ladakhi king, 'aBumlde IV may have married a Muslim woman from among Zain-ul-Abidin's relations[96] ; and (*ii*) Drungpa Ali may have been carried away as a hostage to Kashmir by the Kashmir king and there converted to Islam.[97] The second version is more plausible. We learn from Jonaraja in the same sequence that the

Kashmir troops also destroyed the Ladakhi town of Mulbe, looted the treasury, and threw the *Bhauttas* in a state of terror.[98] It is, therefore, obvious that after a brief period of collusion the Ladakhis displayed a recalcitrant attitude and were reduced to submission with a heavy hand. To ensure their good conduct in future, the Kashmir troops may have carried the king's brother to Kashmir where he became a Muslim.

The account given in the Persian sources that Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin also secured the allegiance of the Balti ruler during this compaign[99] is not corroborated by Jonaraja. The total Kashmirian operation in this region and beyond is not found dated in any source. It can, however, be placed sometime between 1440 and 1452 A.D.[100]

Srivara mentions another expedition to have been personally led by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin for the conquest of the *Bhautta* country.[101] As we have no indication about it in the Ladakhi records, it may have been directed against Baltistan.[102] It finds support in Srivara's reference to the entry of Kashmir troops into a forest,[103] for Ladakh is a cold desert region where no forests grow. The last expedition led against the *Bhauttas* was the outcome of Kashmir's disturbed political condition. To prevent a bloody clash between his two ambitious sons, Adam Khan and Haji Khan, the Sultan sent out the former on an expedition against the *Bhauttas*. Having conquered the *Bhautta* country,[104] Adam Khan returned to Kashmir. He brought rich booty with him.[105] This event occurred in or before 1452 A.D.[106] Srivara's brief reference does not help us in ascertaining whether these *Bhauttas* were Baltis or Ladakhis. The Ladakhi records do not mention it. But the corroboration comes from a Mughal source that Adam Khan conquered little Tibet[107] which is Baltistan.[108] Not much importance should be attached to this event from the military point of view for it was a sort of "an honourable form of exile for the prince." It is unlikely that Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin could be "so imprudent as to place at the prince's disposal a force of any importance."[109]

RELATIONS WITH GANDHARA, UDABHANDAPURA AND SINDHU

Kashmir had from early times close political relations with the region lying to her immediate west called Gandhara,[110] generally comprising the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi.[111] The chief line of communication between Kashmir and these two districts was through the Jehlam Valley route referred to by Alberuni as the best entrance to Kashmir.[112] This region nearly always formed part of the Delhi Sultanate until local disruptive forces became strong after Firuz Shah Tughluq's death (1388 A. D.) and resulted in the establishment of small principalities independent of the Sultans of Delhi.[113] Jonaraja and Srivara refer to these principalities and their relations with Kashmir as feudatory states. Of the Muslim kings of Kashmir, Sultan Shihab-ud-din was the first to take his armies to this region. Gandhara, Udabhandapura and Sindhu were the first to fall to his elaborate scheme of conquests.[114] Sikandar also led an expedition against Udabhandapura and received the daughter of its ruler in marriage. Sikandar's two daughters, through his wife, Shobha Devi, were married to the rulers of Udabhandapura and Sindhu.[115]

Jonaraja speaks of the rulers of Sindhu and Gandhara as the vassals of Zain-ul-Abidin.[116] His subsequent reference to repeated reverses the ruler of Udabhandapura suffered at the hands of the Kashmir Sultan[117] shows that its ruler consistently defied the authority of Kashmir. The Sindhu ruler also, abandoning his vassalage of Kashmir, supported the ruler of Udabhandapur in his war against Zain-ul-Abidin.[118] But their combined resistence was decisively broken, and the whole region brought under complete subjugation which endured at least till 1459 A.D.,[119] for Jonaraja does not speak of a conflict in this region any more.

Srivara also mentions this region twice in connection with Kashmir. His first reference relates to the conquest of Sindhu and Hinduvat.[120] It presupposes an expression of disobedience on the part of the Sindhu ruler. It was possibly at this time that the ruler of Sindhu, whose name is not mentioned, was deposed or killed and Qayam-ud-din installed as ruler, as we know from Srivara in a later reference that Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin "had placed his sister's son Kyamadena (Qayam-ud-din) in the post of *Suratrana* (Sultan) in the country of Sindhu."[121] However, Qayam-ud-din, whom the Sultan held in great affection, was slain in a battle by Ibrahim, presumably a rival claimant to the throne of Sindhu. From the sequence of events in which this reference occurs in Srivara's chronicle, this incident appears to have happened towards the close of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign. By his death "the king felt as if his own right hand had been cut off."[122]

CULTURAL CONTACTS

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin established relations with a large number of rulers in and outside India with whom frequent cultural exchanges and diplomatic dealings are recorded in the Sanskrit and Persian chronicles.

(1) RELATIONS WITH INDIAN STATES

The contemporary political scene of northern India in Zain-ul-Abidin's time presented a motley of small independent states which once formed part of the powerful Delhi Sultanate, but which had seceded owing to the loosening grip of the weak Sayyid and Lodi Sultans of Delhi. Zain-ul-Abidin was an accomplished ruler, whose reputation spread far and wide, covering a large area. It travelled as far as Bengal in the east, Malwa in Central India, Abhira in the Konkan and Nasik region in the west, and Karnatak in the South.[123]

Delhi

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin could not cultivate friendly relations with the Sayyid Sultans of Delhi (1421-1451 A.D.) for, as we have already seen, he was committed to supporting Jasrat Khokhar against them for diplomatic reasons. The outcome of this policy was that the province of the Punjab lay constantly exposed to the recurring attacks of the *Khokhar* chief with varying degrees of successes and failures.[124] It culminated in the conclusion of an alliance by Jasrat in 1441 A.D. with the governor of the Punjab, Buhlol Lodi, spelling out a scheme to oust the Sayyid Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad Shah (1433-1443 A.D.). The plan, however, miscarried.[125] The alliance constituted a turning point in the Kashmir-Delhi relations. With the accession of Buhlol Lodi to the *masnad* of Delhi in 1451 A.D.,[126] intimate relations were established between the two rulers.[127] The governor of Panchanada[128] (the Punjab), whose name is not mentioned, sent to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in gift his personal horse of a special breed lightening in speed and extraordinary in size.[129] Buhlol Lodi also sent him the finest things of his kingdom.[130]

Gopalapura or Gwalior

Zain-ul-Abidin was a great lover of fine arts and his reign was characterised by the frequent holding of musical concerts. On one of these occasions, Dugarseha,[131] the ruler of Gwalior,[132] who maintained friendly relations with Zain-ul-Abidin, sent him a couple of valuable treatises on the science of music.[133] One of these works, entitled *Sangitchudamani*, contained rules concerning fine arts including drama and music. It also included a rare collection of lyrics. After Dugarseha's death, his son and successor Kirtiseha, continued his father's tradition and maintained friendly relations with the king of Kashmir by sending presents to him.[134]

Gujarat

Zain-ul-Abidin also had cultural relations with Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Gujarat, who sent some celebrated varieties of textile fabrics in gift to the Kashmir Sultan.[135] The varieties mentioned are towel-cloth (*catefa*), camlet (*sof*), and some silken stuff brocaded with gold (*saqlat*).[136] Zain-ul-Abidin also received technical assistance. Darood Giri was an expert boat-maker and he came all the way from Gujarat to design a special type of boat driven by sails on the pattern found there.[137]

Malwa

According to Srivara, Zain-ul-Abidin exchanged presents with Khalachya, the king of Mandavyagarh,[138] who is identified with Mahmud I, the Khalji ruler of Malwa. The Kashmir Sultan received from him a coat of mail called *durandama.*[139] Reciprocating the gesture, he sent to the Khalji ruler invaluable presents including a poem composed by himself in Persian.[140] Mahmud was particularly impressed by the beauty of diction and meaning of Zain-ul-Abidin's poetic composition.[141]

Saurashtra

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin is recorded to have been in diplomatic contact with the paramount ruler of Saurashtra.[142] The Sultan received from him in present a handsome horse and a number of birds "beautiful in the variety of their colours and charming in their eyes."[143]

Sind

According to a Persian chronicler,[144] the *Badshah* of Sind sent a large number of gifts through one of his officers to Zain-ul-Abidin. These included, among other things, an ode in praise of the Sultan, which pleased him very much. The relations existing between the two rulers are, however, not mentioned by Srivara.[145] The ruler's name is not given. He was possibly Jam Nizamuddin[146] (1460-1508 A.D.) being a contemporary of Zain-ul-Abidin.

Mewar

Zain-ul-Abidin also cultivated friendly relations with Rana Kumbha, the *Rajput* ruler of Mewar (1433-1468 A.D.), who presented to the Kashmir Sultan a special dress called *Narikunjara* and displayed the proficiency of the women of Mewar[147] who made it.

(2) RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

With the advent of Muslim rule in Kashmir, contacts with the centres of Islamic culture were increasingly established. Climax was, however, reached in the time of Sikandar and his illustrious son, Zain-ul-Abidin, but in a widely different sense. Being a fanatic Muslim, Sikandar's efforts culminated in what his religion required of him as he narrowly understood it, while his son, a man of broad vision and humanistic outlook, saw in his intimate relations with the rulers of foreign Muslim countries a perennial source for Kashmir's cultural development in its widest possible sense.

Zain-ul-Abidin's contact with high men and affairs naturally widened his mental horizon and inculcated in him a broad and cosmopolitan outlook which he displayed by striving to establish relations with rulers of the region. Though not many details are forthcoming, Zain-ul-Abidin's contacts may have been more fruitful and intimate than are recorded in the chronicles. In his time was developed cultural and diplomatic intercourse with countries in Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia. The chiefs of Gilan, Egypt and Mecca sent rich and beautiful presents to the Kashmir Sultan.[148] This reference to Zain-ul-Abidin's relations with Egypt, studied in the context of an inscription found on his coins giving him the title of *Naib-i-Amir-ul-Muminin*,[149] i.e., the Deputy of the Commander of the Faithful, provides us with almost a definite basis for regarding the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt[150] to have accorded a formal recognition to Zain-ul-Abidin's rule in Kashmir. He also established friendly relations with the rulers of Fars, Iraq, Sajistan and Khurasan, and exchanged presents with them.[151] But the establishment of cultural relations with the successors of Timur constitutes one of the most glorious aspects of Kashmir history. Zain-ul-Abidin came in intimate contact with Timur's son and successor, Shah Rukh (1405-1447 A.D.), a great patron of art and learning.[152] Shah Rukh sent presents to Zain-ul-Abidin which included elephants[153] and precious stones. The Sultan, however, conveyed through the envoys his preference for scholars and learned works. As soon as the message reached him, Shah Rukh despatched six scholars and a number of manuscripts.[154] On his death, the Kashmir-Samarqand relations suffered a temporary set-back. His two immediate successors were politically shaken at home, for conditions were quite distrubed in that region.[155] However, with the accession of Mirza Abu Said (1452-1467 A.D.)[156] relations were re-established, for we hear again of the exchange of presents between the two monarchs. Srivara speaks of the Mirza as the lord of the horses.[157] He sent to Zain-ul-Abidin Bactrian camels, Arab horses and mules as presents.[158] The Kashmir Sultan reciprocated the gesture by sending "donkey loads of saffron, paper, musk, shawls and cups of glass or crystal and other wonderful products of Kashmir for the acceptance" of the Mirza.[159] Besides, the only non-Muslim foreign country with which Zain-ul-Abidin had contacts was the kingdom of Tibet. Its ruler, whose name is not mentioned, sent him a pair of swans picked up from the famous Mansarowar lake.[160]

REFERENCES

1. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 78.
2. There is confusion regarding the name of Jasrat's father. Badauni mentions him as Shaikh Khokhar : (p. 381). Firishta does not mention his father's name at all but gives almost the same name, i.e., Shaikh Gukkar to his brother : (p. 468). It should be Khokhar and not Gukkar (Ghakkar) for the family is mentioned as belonging to the *Khokhar* tribe : (*Ain.*, II, p.

383). Ghakkar was a different tribe in the Punjab : (I.A., XXXVI, (1907), p. 1 Sqq. ; *Camb. History of India*, III, p. 280 cf. Parmu, p. 133, 5n). Jasrat's full name is given as Jasrat Shaikh Khọkhar : (Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 54). Yahya's version read with Badauni and Firishta shows that Shaikh Khokhar was common to all the three names. The confusion, however, disappears as soon as we know the first names of Jasrat's father and brother. The father's first name provided by Srivara is Malik : (I, iii, St. 107). It makes his name Malik Shaikh Khokhar. His brother's first name is mentioned as Nasrat : (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 61, 2n).

3. Jonaraja, St. 730.
4. Firishta, p. 468 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 651-52.
5. Jonaraja, St. 729.
6. Yahya b. Ahmad, p 53.
7. *Zafarnama*, (E and D), III, p. 485 ; *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (E and D), III, p. 473.
8. Firishta, p. 468 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 651-52 ; J. R. A. S., (1918), pp. 456-57.
9. Jonaraja, St. 729.
10. Ibid.. Stt. 729-30.
11. Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 54.
12. Srivara, 4, St. 142.
13. Firishta, p. 469 ; Nizamuddin, p. 652.
14. Jonaraja, St. 729.
15. Abul Fazl's statement that "Jasrat leaving Kashmir advanced against Delhi" after the recovery of sovereignty of Kashmir by Zain-ul-Abidin shows that Jasrat came to Kashmir after the battle to restore him to the throne : (Ain., II, p. 383).
16. Billa Deva repeatedly allied himself with the Sayyid Sultans of Delhi against Jasrat : (Yahya b. Ahmad, pp. 56, 57, 59 ; Badauni, p. 383).
17. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 111.
18. cf. Parmu, p. 138.
19. Under the weak rule of the Sayyid rulers of Delhi, the Punjab was in constant state of turmoil : (Badauni, pp. 382-399).
20. Yahya b. Ahmad, pp. 56-57.
21. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1323 ; Badauni, p. 381.
22. Badauni, p. 381 ; Firishta, p. 469. Nizamuddin also mentions the aid given by Zain-ul-Abidin : (p. 652).
23. Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 54,
24. Ibid., pp. 54-56.
25. Badauni, p. 383.
26. Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 56 ; Badauni, p. 383.
27. For details see Badauni, pp. 383-99 ; Yahya b. Ahmad, pp. 56, 86.
28. Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 59.

29. Ibid., pp. 85-86 ; Badauni, p. 399.
30. *Ain.*, II, p. 383. 31. Jonaraja, St. 785.
32. *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
33. *History of Jammu State*, J.P.H.S., Vol. VIII, p. 118.
34. Hasan, f. 106 b.
35. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 729 and Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 102, 7n.
36. Jonaraja, St. 544. But she was later superseded by Meraj, the Muslim queen of Sikandar, as the chief queen : (Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 98, para 35).
37. Jonaraja, St. 711 ; Haidar Malik, p. 45 ; Firishta, pp. 467-68 ; Nizamuddin, p. 650.
38. Jonaraja, St. 830. 39. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 86.
40. Sayyid Ali Hamadani had objected to Qutb-ud-din's marriage with two sisters. At his instance, the Sultan rectified his un-Islamic act by divorcing them and re-marrying the younger one named Sura who became the mother of Sikandar and Haibat : (Abdul Wahhab, *Fatuhat-i-Kubraviya*, f. 147 b).
41. Srivara, I, vii, Stt. 171, 173.
42. Singh, *R.T.*, pp. 473-74, 857n. 43. Sayyid Ali, f. 17a.
44. *Baharistan.*, pp. 29, 37. Sabzwar was one of the provinces of Persia under Timur : (Syke, *History of Persia*, II. p. 124).
45. Mir Sayyid Mahmud was the governor of Sabzwar. But his differences with Timur drove him to take shelter in Delhi under Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq : (1388-1389 A.D.). According to *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, the Sultan gave Sayyid Mahmud a woman in marriage : (For details see pp. 25-26, 29, 35-37). But since we learn from Yahya b. Ahmad that the Sultan was young and inexperienced (*Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (Rizvi), II, p. 208), his daughter could not have been of marriageable age. Sayyid Mahmud might have married one of the princesses of the royal family,
46. *Baharistan.*, pp. 36-37. Raja Jasrat should not be confused with Jasrat Khokhar.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
48. *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 181.
49. A ruler of Rajapuri had assisted Zain-ul-Abidin in his war against his brother as discussed in the previous Chapter.
50. Baharistan., p. 40. 51. Ibid., p. 43.
52. Ibid., pp. 40-43. 53. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
54. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
55. It represents the modern district of Rajauri : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 433).
56. Singh, *R.T.*, p. 467, 831n.
57. Jonaraja, St. 831.
58. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 123. Also text 1, iii, Stt. 40-41. Zainatilak was a town built near the ancient city of Jayapidapur close to

the Manasbal lake : (Srivara, I, iii, Stt. 33-34).

59. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 105.
60. This outer country is none other than the outer hills which included Punch and Rajauri : (Hutchison and Vogel, *History of Rajauri State*, J.P.H.S. Vol. IX, p. 145). Moreover, Hutchison and Vogel mention Haji Khan as the governor of both Punch (Lohara) and Rajauri.
61. Srivara, I, i, Stt. 91-93. 62. Ibid , iii, Stt. 2 Sqq.
63. The year of Zain-ul-Abidin's death : (Srivara, 1, vii, St. 221).
64. Vide Chapter VII.
65. For details, see Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, pp. 55-75.
66. Jonaraja, Stt. 466-78. 67. Srivara, 1, i, St. 83.
68. Ibid., St. 82 ; Nizamuddin, p. 663.
69. Firishta, p. 471. 70. Srivara, 1, i, St. 105.
71. Ibid., Stt. 86-110.
72. Ibid., 1. v, St. 12. Loharakotta, meaning "the castle of Lohara" derives its name from the mighty historic fort which stood there. It was situated in the valley now called Loharin in the Punch district : (See Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 293).
73. For details see Hutchison and Vogel, *History af Punch State*, J.P.H.S., Vol. IX, pp. 109-25.
74. The name of its ruler at the time of its conquest by Haji Khan is not mentioned.
75. Suka, (Dutt), p. 368.
76. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 80. Also see Singh, *R.T.*, p. 477.
77. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 435. 78. Ibid.
79. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p. 97 ; J.A.S.B., Extra Number, (1904), p. 99.
80. Jonaraja, (Dutt), pp. 16-23.
81. *Baharistan.*, p, 47 ; Haidar Malik, p. 47. Sayyid Ali mentions 50,000 cavalry which is on the high side : (f. 15b).
82. *Baharistan.*, p. 47. 83. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
84. *Baharistan.*, p. 47 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 15b.
85. *Baharistan.*, p. 47.
86. Ibid. Lar is the ancient Lahara comprising the whole territory in the north-east of Kashmir drained by the Sind and its tributories : (Stein, *R.T.*, I, v, 51n).
87. Jonaraja, St 834. For the identification of Shaya with Sheh in Ladakh, See Apendix A—(ii).
88. The *Yavanas* of Jonaraja were not the Muslim soldiers of Kashmir army as is wrongly supposed by Francke (*History of Western Tibet*, p. 81, 1n) and Petech (*op. cit*, p. 116). They were not local Muslims either as Francke (I.A., Vol. XXXVII, (1908), p. 188), is misunderstood by

Mohibbul Hasan (p. 72 and note). An encounter with the Kashghar forces in Ladakh appears spurious to Mohibbul Hasan on the ground that it is not supported by Jonaraja. It is incorrect, for Jonaraja's *Yavanas* are none other than the Kashghar soldiers. For Jonaraja's *Yavanas* as foreign Muslims see stanzas 571, 573, 841 etc., Singh, *R.T.*, p. 468 and 34n, and Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 94, 4n.

89. *Baharistan.*, pp. 47-48. 90. Haidar Malik, p. 47
91. Vide Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, I.H Q. (Supplement), (1939), Vol. XV, p. 116. Guge is situated to the north of Garhwal and Kamaun region. It is a part of Tibet.
92. Jonaraja, St. 833.
93. Francke, *Notes from the Tibetan Records*, I.A., Vol. XXXVII, (1908), p. 188.
94. cf. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
95. Vide Francke, *Notes from the Tibetan Records*, I.A., Vol. XXXVII, (1908), p. 188. Drangpa Ali was the son of the Ladakhi king 'aBumdle IV (1430-1440 A.D.).
96. Ibid. 97. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 11 .
98. Jonaraja, Stt. 835-36. Srikanth Kaul proposes to read Malubha for Saluta and identifies it with Mulbe in Ladakh : (*R.T.*, Intro., p 110, 1n).
99 Hasan, f. 121b ; Haidar Malik, *MS* (*I.O*), f. 121a.
100. While determining this period three facts should be borne in mind. First, the campaign took place during the reign of bLo-gross-mchog-Iden (1440-1470 A.D.). Secondly, Jonaraja, who noticed it, chronicled the events of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign upto the year 1459 A.D. Thirdly, it must be placed earlier than Adam Khan's attack on the *Bhauttas* (in or before 1452 A.D.), the first ever noticed by Jonaraja's successor, Srivara. Thus the common period would be between 1440 and 1452 A.D.
101. Srivara, 1, i, St. 51. 102. Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
103. Srivara, 1, i, St. 52. 104. Ibid., Stt. 82-83.
105. Nizamuddin, p. 663 ; Firishta, p. 471.
106. Its precise date is not given. But it can be inferred from Srivara's reference (1, i, Stt. 82-86) to Haji Khan's return from Lohara in the *Laukika* year (45) 28, i.e., 1452 A.D. Haji Khan was sent to Lohara immediately after Adam Khan's triumphal return from the land of the *Bhauttas*.
107. Nizamuddin, p. 663.
108. Little Tibet is Baltistan for the Mughal historians : (Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 115). Firishta mentions it as Tibet : (p. 471).
109. Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.
110. Kalhana, I, i, 66, 68, ii, 145, iii, 2, v, 153, 232, vii, 1081.

111. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 47-48.
112. Alberuni, *India*, (Sachau), p. 206. The Chinese travellers, Hiuen Tsang and Ou-Kong, entered Kashmir through this route in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. respectively : (See for further details Stein, *R.T.*, II, pp. 401-2).
113. Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 444 Sqq.
114. Jonaraja, Stt. 372-75. For the identification of these places, see Appendix A—(iii).
115. *Munich MS.*, f. 63a.
116. Jonaraja, St. 829.
117. Ibid., St. 832.
118. Ibid.
119. Jonaraja died in 1459 A.D. : (Srivara, 1, i, St. 6).
120. Srivara, I, i, St. 51. Hinduvat was presumably a principality in the Gandhara region.
121. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 157.
122. Ibid., 1, vii, Stt. 49-51.
123. Ibid., i, St. 25. Srivara mentions separately Bangala and Gauda which evidently denote two different regions. Bangal (Vangal) is the derivation of Vanga which is identified with Eastern Bengal. Gauda was Western Bengal : (For details see Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 115*). For Abhira's identification with the tract in the Konkan-Nasik region see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
124. A detailed account of Jasrat's conflict with the Punjab authorities and the Sayyid Sultans of Delhi is contained in the works of Yahya b. Ahmad (pp. 64-67, 72-75, 80-85) and Badauni (pp. 381-84, 390-91).
125. Yahya b. Ahmad, pp. 85-86 ; Badauni, p. 399.
126. Habib and Nizami, *Comp. History of India*, V. p. 673.
127. Srivara mentions him as Balluka : (1, vi, St. 19). The only contemporary king who ruled Delhi when Srivara was completing the narrative of the last eleven years of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign (1459-1470 A.D.) was Buhlol Lodi (1451-1488 A.D.). Srivara's Balluka can safely be identified with Sultan Buhlol Lodi for Nizamuddin also mentions Zain-ul-Abidin's close relations with him : (p. 659).
128. Panchanada is identified with the Punjab : (Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 185-87). Srivara's ruler of Panchanada was evidently a provincial governor, for the Punjab was a province of the Delhi Sultanate : (I, vi, St. 6).
129. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 149.
130. Nizamuddin, p. 659.
131. Srivara, 1, vi, St. 14. Dutt's translation has Tugaraseha (p. 150) while Nizamuddin mentions him as Dungar Sen : (p. 659).
132. In Srivara's chronicle (1, vi, St. 14) it is mentioned as Gopalapura which, with Nizamuddin's help, can be safely

identified with Gwalior : (p. 659).

133. Nizamuddin, pp. 659-60.

134. Srivara, 1, vi, St. 15-16.

135. Ibid., St. 25. Srivara's "Mohammada Suratrana (Sultan), king of Gurjara" should be identified with Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat for both Abul Fazl (*Ain.*, II, p. 384) and Nizamuddin (p. 659) refer to Zain-ul-Abidin's friendly relations with him. We know that Sultan Mahmud was Zain-ul-Abidin's contemporary having ruled Gujarat during 1459-1511 A.D. : (For details see Habib and Nizami, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 866-69).

136. Srivara (i, vi, St. 25) wrongly has *saglat* for *saqlat* : (For *saqlat* see Badauni, p. 5-3 and 3n).

137. *Baharistan.*, p. 51.

138. Srivara, 1, vi, St. 10. For identification, see Appendix A—(iv).

139. Srivara, 1, vi, St. 10. *Durandama* seems to have been derived from the Persian words "*dara*" and "*andam*" which mean "a coat of mail" and "a body" respectively.

140. Ibid., St. 11. Srivara's reference to Zain-ul-Abidin's composition "in his own language" should be taken as in Persian for it is unimaginable for Mahmud to have appreciated a poem in Kashmiri.

141. Ibid., St. 12.

142. Ibid., St. 17. Srivara mentions it as Saurashtranagar. It should be taken as Saurashtra for Saurashtranagar was its capital identified with modern Girnar : (See Awasthi, *Studies in Skandapurana*, Pt. I, p. 87).

143. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 150. 144. Nizamuddin, p. 659,

145. Mohibbul Hasan wrongly quotes Srivara for Kashmir-Sind relations : (p. 73 and 5n).

146. For details of Jam Nizamuddin, see Habib and Nizami *op. cit.*, V, pp. 1126-28.

147. Srivara 1, vi, St. 13.

148. Ibid., St. 26 ; Nizamuddin, p. 659. *Baharistan.*, p. 45.

149. J.A.S.B., Vol. XLVIII, (1879), p. 284.

150. For the seat of Abbasid Caliphs in Egypt during this period see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, (Eng. tr.), *Muslim Institutions*, p. 111.

151. *Baharistan.*, p. 45.

152. Syke, *History of Persia*, II, p. 137.

153. The presentation of elephants was perhaps regarded as a status symbol. Shah Rukh had obviously ensured a regular supply of elephants to Samarqand from other sources,

for the countries of Central Asia have never been known as the breeding places of elephants.

154. Rafi-ud-din, ff. 46b-47a ; Abul Qasim, f. 126b.
155. Syke, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
156. See for his period of reign Syke, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
157. Srivara, 1, vi, St. 22.
158. Ibid., St. 24 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
159. Nizamuddin, p. 659.
160. Ibid., p. 660.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS POLICY

An enlightened religious policy is an acknowledged measure of a ruler's greatness, and, judged by this yard-stick, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin is, indeed, surpassed by none. Seldom in history one comes across a potentate who ruled over a heterogeneous population and was yet so perfectly liberal and so completely impartial as Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. No wonder that he, like Akbar, had Badaunis who denounced him for the liberalism he displayed towards his non-Muslim subjects. Kashmir had painfully borne a socio-religious operation, begun in his father's time and completed in the reign of his brother Sultan Ali Shah. Reversing the process, Zain-ul-Abidin started anew to build up the bridges of amity, goodwill, and coexistence. His healing touch to the sobbing population was as unprecedented as the perpetration of atrocities by his two immediate predecessors in Kashmir's recorded history. The contrast is, indeed, the measure of Zain-ul-Abidin's greatness. Zain-ul-Abidin comes out at once in bold relief against the background of mutilated homes as the harbinger of peace and harmony, of which there are but few parallels in Indo-Muslim history. While Ali Shah inherited to the full his father's fanaticism, Zain-ul-Abidin stood for all that was best in liberal traditions. Nearly resembling their Mughal counterparts—Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh—the two brothers thus represented in the fullest sense two widely different traditions in Indo-Islamic history.

Zain-ul-Abidin's religious policy is to be understood in the context of what preceded his time and the heavy responsibility of socio-religious reconstruction that devolved upon him as a ruler. He was a devout Muslim punctilious in the observance of his religious duties, praying and observing *Ramzan* fasts[1]. He drew inspiration from Persian literature and the centres of

Islamic culture and learning. He held Muslim divines from Mecca and Madina in profound respect, found solace in the company of *Sufis*, encouraged Muslim scholars, painters, musicians, and craftsmen as a well-meaning and generous ruler would do[2]. Yet he was not a ruler devoted to the welfare of Muslims alone as Sikandar or Ali Shah had been. He was groomed in the liberal tenets of sufistic thought and both Hindus and Muslims engaged his equal attention. He had found the socio-religious fabric of the Hindus demolished and he displayed uncommon anxiety for reconstructing it all over again. In this major task, Zain-ul-Abidin was dictated to by his liberal sufistic background and the work he did was what a great *Sufi* would be expected to do. From the fact that his religious policy was chiefly devoted to the work of religious reconstruction and of restoration of confidence among Hindus, it should not be deduced that he patronised Hindus at the expense of Muslims, as is suggested by some Persian chroniclers and would be discussed at an appropriate place in this Chapter. It is in this perspective that we have to examine the religious policy of Zain-ul-Abidin.

Zain-ul-Abidin's liberalism was not the freak of a light-hearted sovereign but the logical outcome of an open and receptive mind. It was by no means a case of the abandoning of fanaticism, or a conversion to liberalism of a political strategist, but it was a gradual evolution of a noble and perceptive mind increasingly sharpened by every wave of wholesome influence. He inherited in some measure the spirit of liberalism from his father who was a liberal turned fanatic. His step-mother, Shobha Devi, inculcated in him a spirit of tolerance for Hinduism. He enjoyed the fruit of liberal education under his tutor Maulana Kabir[3]. A galaxy of *Sufi* saints exercised profound influence on Zain-ul-Abidin and his people. They were holy men "actuated by motives of piety and a desire for moral advancement."[4] The chief among them was Sheikh Nur-ud-din who along with Lalleshwari formed a bridge between Hinduism and Islam, and inaugurated a process of religious humanism which may be called the Kashmiri confluence of *Sufi* and *Bhakti* movements[5]. There was no dearth of liberal influences for one who was eager to receive them. A Hindu physician once cured the Sultan of his ailment, and secured from him, it is alleged, a fair deal for his co-religionists. He was Shirya Bhatta[6], a

Brahmana, who in the science of medicine was "unrivalled" in his age[7].

Jonaraja gives a detailed account of this anecdote.[8] Zain-ul-Abidin was once afflicted by a malignant boil on one of his forearms. It showed no signs of healing. No specialist was available in Kashmir, for the fear of oppression was still lingering in the minds of Hindus who had suffered much under Sikandar and Ali Shah. The state officials did eventually succeed in securing the services of a terror-stricken physician named Shirya Bhatta who consented to treat the Sultan after being assured of his personal safety. He successfully cured the Sultan who offered him much wealth in recognition of his services. But Shirya Bhatta "did not look at wealth, even as a man who has conquered his passions does not look at beautiful women."[9] The reason of his refusal is not clearly discernible in Jonaraja's account.[10] However, the study of some Persian sources[11] in the light of another reference of Jonaraja conveys the impression that Zain-ul-Abidin allowed complete religious freedom through the good offices of Shirya Bhatta who refused the reward but pleaded for religious restoration and rehabilitation of the Hindus.[12] This is an over-simplification of the Sultan's urge for extraordinary liberal measures. It was not a converting influence which the physician exercised on Zain-ul-Abidin. The Sultan's mind was already set in a liberal mould and Shirya Bhatta's initiative only quickened his humanistic consciousness[13]. It did not take long for Shirya Bhatta to win the confidence of the Sultan by his spirit of dedication which he so singularly displayed by refusing substantial monetary gains. He eventually became his trusted minister[14] and, in his official capacity, he was responsible under the Sultan's patronage for the construction of some *mathas* in different localities[15]. On his death sometime before 1459 A. D.[16] the Sultan distributed one crore of *dinnars* to his sons through Jayya Bhatta[17]. Shirya Bhatta was one of those ministers who enjoyed a long and uninterrupted spell of royal patronage, and remained to the last one of Zain-ul-Abidin's closest confidants. The Sultan consulted him on all matters relating to justice and in the formulation and execution of a liberal policy towards his Hindu subjects.[18]

RELIGIOUS RESTORATION

Kashmir at the time of Zain-ul-Abidin's accession presented a spectacle of sorrow on the domestic front. The whole socio-religious set-up of the Hindus was in a state of turmoil. Demoralised and terror-stricken by the excesses committed during the last two reigns, they had found safety in a variety of ways—in self-immolation, in flight beyond the borders, in remaining disguised and pretending to be Muslim, in hiding, or in embracing Islam.[19] They were forbidden to perform their religious ceremonies and customs.[20] Forsaken by man and God alike, they lived in a state of servitude and terror. All those who withstood the heavy odds and decided to stay in Kashmir saved the purity of their caste by remitting heavy amounts of capitation tax called *Jizya*. This was the situation which Zain-ul-Abidin was called upon to face. And uppermost in his mind was the anxiety to restore the shattered confidence of his non-Muslim subjects. The early influences on him, enforced by the exhortations of Shirya Bhatta, inspired the Sultan to undertake the task of religious restoration with a conviction and a resolve rarely equalled in history.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin caused complete religious freedom to be publicly announced and "each individual worshipped his God agreeably to the faith in which he was educated."[22] He took the momentous decision of extending a general invitation to all those *Brahmanas* who had been banished, or had fled in panic from Kashmir, to return.[23] The assurance that none would suffer any religious disability caused a general influx of people back to the Valley.[24] A large number of them returned from Jammu and Kishtwar.[25] The government formulated schemes for their relief and rehabilitation. Arrangements were made for providing them residential accommodation. Some of them took up their residence in temples.[26] Organised efforts were made to provide them with means of livelihood. The more meritorious of them received assignments according to ability, while others were granted stipends[27] and rent-free lands.[28]

Zain-ul-Abidin displayed an extraordinary gesture of goodwill by allowing all those Hindu converts who had accepted Islam under duress to return to their original faith if they so wished.[29] Doubt has been expressed that "owing to their rigid system of ceremonial purity and the notions of defilement, many Hindus could not have profited by the opportunity of coming back to their original fold."[30] No doubt, both Jonaraja and Srivara are conspicuously silent on this point. But the number of people who exercised this option was fairly large, for we learn from Nizamuddin that "most of the *Brahmanas*, who had become *Musalmans* in the reign of Sultan Sikandar apostatised again, and none of the (*Musalmans*) learned men had any power or hold over them."[31] We find its corroboration in the pages of a Persian chronicle[32] which speaks of Kashmir, where infidelity and idolatry were once wiped out in the reign of Sikandar, as a land humming with the activities of the "crowds of infidels and tribes of polytheists" under the patronage of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. This was obviously the result of both the recall of Hindus and the reconversions of Hindu converts in large numbers. True, the Hindu socio-religious set-up has been a highly rigid one. But it does not follow from it that the Hindus never permitted people of other religions to come back to their fold. There have been several instances of conversions to Hinduism throughout ancient[33] and medieval times[34]. The main deterrent during medieval period was the Islamic law under which the conversion of a Muslim to other faiths was a capital offence.[35] Despite this, "an almost continuous stream of conversions and reconversions seems to have been running all through the first ten centuries of Muslim rule in India."[36] Once the deterrent was removed in Kashmir by Zain-ul-Abidin, the truncated Hindu society got a new lease of life and its depleted numbers swelled with lightening rapidity. It was no ordinary measure. Perhaps no Muslim king had ever taken such a bold step which not only lacked the sanction of Islamic law but was positively repugnant to its usage.

The ancient usages and customs of the Hindus violently interfered with and violated in the previous reigns were restored[37]. The application of *Tilak* on the forehead, banned by Sikandar, was allowed.[38] The Hindus participated freely in their festivals and studied their scriptures.[39] "One hears after a long time," Srivara states, "the pure and beautiful *Dharmashastra* recited, and holds it to his heart, even as white cloth holds the impression of colours, and acts according to its injunctions."[40] The inequitous taxes were considerably reduced or done away with. A spot on the junction of the Mar canal and the river Jehlam in Srinagar was used as a site for cremation by the Hindus in return for a tax levied by its owners and the State officials. It was brought to the notice of the Sultan by Srivara, and the former at once ordered its abrogation and the punishment of all those responsible for its collection.[41] The hard core among the Muslims opposed the measure, but the Sultan retaliated by turning out their leader, Sayyid Makk, from Kashmir.[42] The Muslims who were averse to seeing the Hindu ways of cremation, like the burning of the dead, had to bear the sight[43], for they were now left with no power to terrorize them.[44] Sultan Sikandar had imposed *Jizya* upon the non-Muslims,[45] who were required to pay two *pals* of silver annually to preserve their religion[46]. Two *pals* of silver were equivalent to eight *tolas*.[47] It was, however, abolished later by Sikandar at the instance of some influential Hindu converts.[48] But his son and successor, Sultan Ali Shah, re-imposed the *Jizya*.[49] Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in consultation with Shirya Bhatta considerably reduced it from an exorbitant amount of two *pals* to only one *masha*.[50] It is corroborated by a Persian chronicler who states that the amount fixed under Zain-ul-Abidin was very small.[51] The reason why it was not totally abolished is explained by Mohibbul Hasan chiefly on the ground that the Sultan had "respect for the opinion and the sentiments of the *Ulama*" which he did not wish to offend.[52] It is difficult to sustain such an argument concerning the policy of a ruler who has to his credit the displav of far greater courage in a more aggressive manner. His uncommon inclination towards the religion and the philosophy of the Hindus, participation in their festivals, visits to their shrines as a pilgrim, permission for reconversions to Hinduism[53] and the like were completely inconsistent with Islamic usage and practice. The retention of *Jizya* was therefore not an issue of sentiments and opinions. It was purely motivated by Zain-ul-Abidin's strong conviction to put up a semblance of an Islamic state in which all enjoyed equal rights, for even the substantially reduced amount of *Jizya* was never followed by its collection in his reign.[54]

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in his zeal to cause a total restoration of Hindu customs and usages allowed the continuance of the inhuman practice of women burning themselves on the funeral-pyre of their husbands.[55] This cruel system, called *Sati*, was banned earlier in the time of Sikandar,[56] though much of the credit due to him is marred by the fact that it was motivated by his zeal to destroy Hindu culture. One would have expected an enlightened king of Zain-ul-Abidin's calibre to have done away with this monstrosity. He could have effected it without much difficulty partly because of his immense popularity among the Hindus and partly because this custom did not seem to find much favour with the Hindus in Kashmir, as is echoed from Srivara's words: "Here (in Kashmir) according to the custom of the distant countries, females immolated themselves in the pyre of the beloved and were not forbidden by the king (Zain-ul-Abidin)."[57] Its final discontinuance would have constituted a signal service to humanity and would have perhaps given a higher pedestal to him as a reformer. But his failure in doing so in no way brings his image under shadow, for what he did was the outcome of his sincere desire to promote the religious revival of the Hindus, taking no chance whatsoever which might hurt their sentiments even in the smallest measure. While he adopted a policy of complete non-interference in religious affairs of others, he took pains to remove those irritants which were likely to jeopardise the execution of his scheme of communal harmony and common citizenship. The cow has from ancient times occupied a sacred place in Hindu society, and its slaughter by Muslims has invariably excited an element of bitterness in their relations with Hindus. Anxious as he was to provide a meaningful base to his ideal of liberalism, the Sultan was quick in putting a ban on cow-slaughter[58] which had great significance then, as it has now, for an average Hindu.

Not only did the Sultan revive in every town and village the observance of socio-religious practices of the Hindus in accordance with their ancient custom, but also he did much to restore their sacred places of worship. A Persian chronicler writes: "All those temples and idol-houses of the infidels which were broken and razed to the ground during the reign of Sikandar were repaired and rebuilt by the Sultan (Zain-ul-Abidin)."[59] It finds corroboration in a number of references in the works of other Persian[60] and Sanskrit[61] chroniclers. Jonaraja mentions the appointment of Rupyabhanda, a proficient sculptor, under whose supervision were carried out the repairs of dilapidated buildings and the construction of new ones under the express orders of

Zain-ul-Abidin.[62] Obviously, these included temples as well.[63] At another place in Jonaraja's chronicle, we have an obvious reference to the construction of temples by the Sultan in the newly-built cities of Zainagiri and Siddhapuri for those worshipping the Sun and Siva.[64] The Sultan is recorded to have built *mathas*, *viharas* and monasteries[65] for his non-Muslim subjects. His trusted minister Shirya Bhatta was also responsible for the construction of large *mathas* in various sub-divisions of the kingdom.[66]

Much of the cruel work of the previous reigns was thus undone. During Zain-ul-Abidin's reign the desecration of images and the acts of profanity were never again permitted in Kashmir for half a century. The Sultan went even to the extent of saving from spoliation a golden image of the Buddha in the foreign land of Ladakh from the hands of Muslim soldiers of a foreign army of Kashghar.[67] Jonaraja has summed up the impact of Zain-ul-Abidin's measures of religious restoration thus: "He (Zain-ul-Abidin) was the destroyer of evils, and he preserved by various means the good usages of Kashmir, even as a physician helps our digestive functions by medicines. As if to purify the earth polluted by the touch of Suhabhatta, the king kindled the fire of his prowess which lighted up the great firmament. He pursued his policy in five different ways, and his enemies, as if to defeat his purpose, dissolved themselves into the five elements (died)."[68]

RECOGNITION OF EQUALITY

The Sultan on the one hand restored Hindu religion and culture and healed the wounds of his non-Muslim subjects, while on the other, he directed his efforts to winning their confidence by establishing the rule of law based on the principles of equality and justice.[69] It was so thoroughly established that he never deviated from these principles. The *Ulama* who had once exercised considerable influence in the time of Sikandar and Ali Shah were now deprived of their privilege of harassing the *Brahmanas*.[70] The Sultan was always eager to make due enquiries after the welfare of all his subjects.[71] He occasionally distributed free food to his subjects without any sort of discrimination. Referring to this practice of the Sultan, Srivara observes : "There was no man in Kashmir, who was not fed with the King's rice, be he learned or dunce, wicked or good, a *Yavana* or a twice-born."[72]

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin recognised merit. He cultivated in his kingdom the society of all classes of people without distinction and "in his assemblies men of intellect, both Hindus and *Musalmans*, were always present."[73] The Sultan had in his court among the Hindu luminaries, Jonaraja and Srivara, who were celebrated as much for their literary eminence as for the historical merit of their works. Their works in Sanskrit constitute the most important historical source for the account of their patron. Other Hindu scholars of note who flourished under the royal patronage were Pandit Notthasoma, Yodha Bhatta and Avatara Bhatta.[74]

The principle of merit was extended to the recruitment of personnel for State services. Due weightage was given to the candidate's personal ability which was the Sultan's sole criterion for appointments.[75] As a result, many of his non-Muslim subjects occupied high positions in the State administration. One of Zain-ul-Abidin's chief confidants was Shirya Bhatta, the superintendent of the courts of justice, whom the Sultan consulted on the judicial and religious matters of the Hindus.[76] Shirya Bhatta was, in fact, instrumental in elevating the status of the members of his community[77] through the influence he exercised over the Sultan which was indeed considerable. Other important Hindus who enjoyed the confidence of the king and helped the *Brahmanas* in securing high official positions were Tilak and Simha. Karpur Bhatta in his official capacity as the king's personal physician, extended patronage to men of worth, presumably the Hindus. Rupya Bhatta was the court astrologer whose chief merit lay in foretelling the position of the planets, without actual calculations, by observing their course during the previous year.[78] Rupyabhanda was an architect, well-versed in his art, whom the Sultan employed for supervising the construction of a number of buildings including the celebrated Zainalank.[79] Jaya Bhatta was presumably the Sultan's treasurer through whom one crore of *dinnars* were distributed in charity.[80] Two of the six distinguished military commandars of Zain-ul-Abidin's time, Malik Daulat Chand and Malik Autar Chand, were Hindus. Malik Autar Chand was the Commander-in-chief of the Kashmiri armed forces, and he displayed conspicuous personal valour in the battle of Sheh.[81] The appointment of Tilakacharya, a Buddhist to a high position of administrative responsibility[82] is clear evidence of the king's earnestness to associate the members of different religious groups with the administration of the kingdom. Besides, there were hosts of lesser Hindus referred to in *Baharistan-i-Shahi* as "crowds of infidels and tribes of polytheists" on whom the Sultan bestowed favours.[83]

PATRONAGE OF BRAHMANAS AND HINDU SAINTS

In Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, the *Brahmanas* in those days enjoyed a special social status and prestige among the Hindus for their learning and religious leadership, a state which is almost inconceivable at the present time. Himself a man of learning, Zain-ul-Abidin appreciated learning and patronised learned men.[84] The *Brahmanas* naturally became recipients of the Sultan's generosity and special favours. He provided them with comfortable living. The Sanskrit chroniclers frequently refer to the grants of rent-free lands and villages to *Brahmanas* in new towns and cities where they lived in dignity and prosperity.[85] They held important assignments as ministers, judges, physicians, treasurers, astrologers, architects, court-chroniclers and poets as noted earlier. They also served as diplomats for negotiating terms of peace and war. On one occasion Zain-ul-Abidin deputed a *Brahmana* to resume diplomatic overtures with his rebellious son, Haji Khan, for peace. The envoy was ill-treated. His insult at the hands of Haji Khan's officers infuriated the Sultan who marched with his army and chastised the prince for his recalcitrance.[86] Zain-ul-Abidin never allowed the status of the *Brahmanas* to be undermined.

The Sultan also held Hindu saints in great respect[87] for their piety and austerity.[88] He looked after their comforts and gave them vessels of gold, ear-pendants and clothes.[89] At the request of mendicants Zain-ul-Abidin caused the plantation of trees at Shankarapura for providing them a shady space.[90] Suresvari Ksetra, which had in those days "a far greater religious importance than even Varanasi for the Kashmiri Hindus",[91] received special attention of the king. There stood the celebrated shrine of the goddess Durga called Suresvari.[92] Describing how the Sultan favoured the holy men of this place, Srivara observes : "The king (Zain-ul-Abidin) made this place seem like heaven by adorning it with *viharas*, and villages given to *Brahmanas*, with monasteries which help in the performance of pious acts, and with hermitages where the inmates have not to labour. There the people saw from a distance well nourished and agreeable *Sidhas* with long four stringed beads in their hands."[93] In the same vicinity the Sultan built a city named Sidhapuri[94] which included a royal palace of the same name "constructed like rows of chariots of the *Sidhas*, so as to be true to its name."[95] Zain-ul-Abidin often fed hermits in great numbers. The Sanskrit chronicler describes one of these occasions thus : "The king rejoiced to see the sinless hermits feasting on savoury cakes until they were *satiated*; and the curd which they quaffed with their busy fingers was strewn on their seats, and looked like the crescent of the moon melted by the power of their *Yoga*."[96]

The fame of Zain-ul-Abidin as a tolerant ruler and a patron of the learned and holy men of all religions did before long overflow the confines of the walled kingdom of Kashmir. And there came Ramanand, a *Vaishnava* teacher and reformer of great celebrity, who sought an audience with the Sultan, and set out to preach the gospel of the *Bhakti* movement, though without much apparent success.[97]

THE SULTAN'S INTEREST IN HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Zain-ul-Abidin was much attracted towards Hindu religion and culture. Srivara speaks of the Sultan's extraordinary interest in the celebrated six schools of Indian philosophy.[98] He came in close contact with the *Yogis* and received instructions on the philosophy of *Yoga*.[99] We learn from Nizamuddin that the Sultan was adept in the occult sciences of the *Yogis*.[100] The performance of several miracles are attributed to him through the power that he attained.[101] His power is exaggerated even to the extent of enabling him to withdraw the soul from his body.[102] The Sultan was venerated as a saint and was regarded as a special servant of God by high and low alike.[103] The works on Hindu religion and philosophy also evinced his interest, and he pressed into service all State agencies to procure them, for most of them had earlier been destroyed in his father's time. Sikandar had caused them to be either consigned to flames[104] or submerged into the water.[105] In striking contrast to his father's intolerant ways, Zain-ul-Abidin replenished the mutilated storehouse of Hindu literary heritage. The books procured were distributed at State expense to learned Hindus in the original Sanskrit and to Muslims in the Persian translations for study. The result was that one heard again people, after a long time, reciting from the Hindu scriptures in Kashmir.[106] The Sultan himself took to the study of these works, and this tendency became fairly strong as he advanced in years. Surrounded as he was by a galaxy of Sanskrit scholars, the Sultan heard them recite appropriate passages from famous works. We learn from Jonaraja that he heard the *Nilamatpurana* and other *Shastras* read out to him by scholars.[107] Srivara recited to the king verses from a Sanskrit work, *Jnana Vasishta* composed by Valmiki, which throws light on the means of achieving salvation.[108] "When he heard," Srivara writes, "the annotations pervaded by a feeling of tranquillity, he remembered them even in his dreams, even as a lover remembers the gestures of his beloved."[109] The Sultan, inspired by the study of the *Puranas*, undertook pilgrimage to the shrine of Naubandhana hill.[110] He also heard recitations from the *Gita Govinda*[111] sung for him by his court-poet, Srivara, who writes in his poetic outburst : "The sweet sound of our song was echoed from the groves, as if celestial musicians sang after us from the groves in honour of the king."[112] The Sultan was thrown into a state of constant agony towards the closing years of his life when his sons fought a war of succession, ravaged the country, and rebelled against him time and again.[113] Srivara, who was very close to the Sultan, often consoled him by reciting passages from the Hindu scriptures. He writes : "I knew how to explain to the king the way to remove worldly afflictions, and for nights together he heard from me the *Samhita* (*Hatakesvara Samhita*) which is the way to salvation."[114] The Sultan heard Srivara explaining to him for his consolation appropriate concepts of Indian philosophy treating of the universe as an illusion, of futility of earthly desires, and of attainment of happiness by withdrawing from them.[115] He was well-versed in Sanskrit and also studied the scriptures himself. He learnt by heart those verses which reflected the condition of his mind. He was so deeply influenced by these ideas that he once expressed the futility of the affection he held out to his sons who were all hostile to him.[116]

PARTICIPATION IN HINDU FESTIVALS

The Sultan did not only allow the Hindus to celebrate their social and religious festivals, in accordance with their ancient custom, but also patronised them and participated in them with uncommon enthusiasm. Srivara refers in detail to a number of such festivals, and the Sultan's participation is corroborated by a Persian chronicle.[117] Every year on the festivals of *Nagayatra* and *Ganachakra*, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin fed the devotees for five days in the town of Jayapidapura[118] Tanks were constructed and filled with cream, curries and wine for serving to people.[119] "There was no kind of rice or meat or vegetable or fruit or food", the chronicler observes, "with which the king did not feed the people at the time of this feast."[120] In a state of intoxication from wine, the devotees resorted to indecent behaviour which the Sultan quietly endured out of his regard for them. He favoured the chief of the devotees with costly robes and presents.[121] On the last day, the Sultan "dismissed the devotees after having laden them with quilts, attendants, money and walking staves."[122]

The Sultan also took part in the festival of lamps called *Vyath Truvah* celebrated with great fervour by the Hindus in the month of *Bhadra* (September-October) on the thirteenth day of the moon to commemorate the legendary birth of the Jehlam. The occasion was marked with a great deal of rejoicings, musical performances, and offerings of lamps to the river on either bank.[123] Seated on a boat, the Sultan spent all night in the enjoyment of melodies rendered. Srivara writes : "While on the water, he listened to well-composed songs and at the time of embarking and disembarking he accepted the blessings of the citizens."[124]

The most colourful was the *Chaitra* festival, celebrated with great pomp and show in the month of April, to mark the advent of spring when Kashmir is at its finest. The zealous Sultan participated in the rejoicings and visited a number of places on this occasion to witness the concerts of music, dance and drama.[125] The Sanskrit chronicler portrays the royal carriage at one of his palaces for witnessing the programme in these words : "The line of the king's boats on the Vitasta (Jehlam) looked like the row of Indra's chariots on the milky way.[126] The audience presented a variegated spectacle of social gathering of all classes. Distinguished artists, like Tara and Utsava, by their superb displays of dance and music, enchanted the audience with delight and wonder.[127] Srivara in his rhetorical flourishes imparts an ethereal appearance to the distinguished assembly. He observes: "The spectators seemed to view Indra himself in the king (Zain-ul-Abidin); the poets and *panditas* beside the king were like demigods, his servants were like the attendant gods, and the *Yogis* around him were like holy men who had obtained salvation; the actresses were like *apsaras* whose charms were heightened by their emotions, the singers were the *Gandharvas*, and the stage was heaven itself."[128] The colourful gaiety of the occasion was heightened by the use of fire-works in various colours.[129]

THE SULTAN'S VISITS TO HINDU SHRINES

It is, indeed, remarkable that Zain-ul-Abidin undertook regular pilgrimages to Hindu shrines and participated in Hindu rituals and worship. Jonaraja records a curious incident connected with one of such pilgrimages when the Sultan ccompanied a religious party to the shrine of Sarada.[130] It was known for such miraculous manifestations as "the appearance of sweat on the face of the image of the goddess, the shaking of the arm, and a sensation of heat on touching the feet" which the Sultan was eager to witness.[131] The Sultan, after drinking water and taking bath at the Madhumati stream, came to the temple. As he entered the shrine, he felt annoyed at the wickedness of the devotees and lost faith in the goddess. The goddess did not manifest herself. Then the Sultan, for the purpose of seeing the goddess in his dream, slept in the court-yard of the temple without results on the night of 7th *Bhadra* (July-August) in the *Laukika* year (44) 98, which corresponds to 1422 A.D. While portraying Zain-ul-Abidin as a virtuous king, Jonaraja has sought to explain the non-appearance of the goddess by reference to the incidence of *Kaliyuga*, the baseness of her devotees, and the polluting presence of the Muslim conflux.[132] The goddess, thus having disappointed Zain-ul-Abidin, is mentioned to have broken her image herself into pieces.[133] Its self-immolation is, indeed, fantastic. According to another interpretation of the same verse,[134] and a logical one, the goddess broke her own image after making Zain-ul-Abidin as an instrument. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is totally inconsistent with what we know of him as an exceptionally tolerant ruler and a patron of Hindu religion and culture. It may, though apparently inconsistent, not be very surprising that the Sultan in a fit of anger at the impossible assertions of the Hindus proving naturally untrue ordered its destruction. However, it had happened just about the beginning of his reign in 1422 A.D.[135] when the king's conception of religious toleration was still in the process of crystallization and full maturation.

Zain-ul-Abidin also undertook pilgrimage to the holy cave of Amarnath or Amaresvara. It is associated with the construction of a water channel which supplied water from the river Lidar to the arid plateau of Martanda.[136] The Sultan came to know from the old people that Amaresvara was the source of the Lidar river. Anxious to ensure uninterrupted work on the canal, the Sultan invoked the blessings of Siva by paying a visit to the cave. His prayer, it is said, was granted, and the construction of the canal was completed without obstruction.[137]

The year 1463 A.D. was very significant in the life of Zain-ul-Abidin when he undertook pilgrimages to two Hindu *Tirthas* of considerable celebrity, and displayed much greater religious inclination than ever before. The two shrines he visited were Vijayesvara and Naubandhana hill, of which a detailed description is given in the *Jaina-Rajatarangini*. Accompanied by two of his sons, the Sultan went to the shrine of Vijayesvara which was thronged with hundreds of people clad in different colours. Poets and learned men also graced the occasion. The place was beautifully lighted with rows of lamps including a tree-like formation studded with lamps held by a man.

From Vijayesvara the Sultan set out towards Naubandhana hill, and his entourage included his two confidants Simha Bhatta and Srivara.[138] At the foot of the Naubandhana hill lies a lake called Konsar Nag, referred to in the Sanskrit works and the *Nilamatpurana* as Kramasaras or Kramasara which is "suppossed to mark a foot-step (*Krama*) of Vishnu and is the proper object of the Naubandhana pilgrimage".[139] The Sultan reached there after a three-day journey on foot from Vijayesvara.[140] "Wearing a noble appearance in his piety", Srivara writes, "he (Zain-ul-

Abidin) saw Vishnu's foot mark at the Krama lake and felt the joy of bowing at the feet of Vishnu".[141] The Sultan thoroughly enjoyed the trip. Accompanied by Simha Bhatta and Srivara, the Sultan moved about on the lake in a boat driven by five or six men. He listened to songs from the *Gita Govinda* musically rendered by Srivara in his melodious voice which aroused a feeling of piety in his mind towards Lord Krishna.[142] "It snowed and the gods," Srivara writes, "as if pleased with his (Sultan's) piety, showered flowers on him."[143] The Sultan meditated in the shrine and "felt a delight as if he had obtained the purity of his soul."[144] Summing up the account of Zain-ul-Abidin's pilgrimage to these shrines, Srivara observes : "The king heard the names of holy places, touched the auspicious waters from the shrines, tasted the cool water, saw the beauty of the forest trees, and scented the perfumes of plants and flowers, and thus performed the pilgrimage that gives pleasure to five senses, and then returned to his capital."[145]

THE IMPACT

For all that he did for his non-Muslim subjects and the manner in which he did it, one cannot resist the conclusion that it was not to win the goodwill of his Hindu subjects alone but to silence the voice of his inner conscience as well. The impact of his participation in their religious functions, and the study of their scriptures, sharpened by the pressure of events, was imperceptibly bringing about a subtle change in the attitude and mental make-up of Zain-ul-Abidin. His close association with the *Yogis* did much to promote in him an ascetic outlook. To these influences may be traced the Sultan's orders banning the killing of birds, and of fishes in several tanks.[146] It may be taken partly as a reflection of the king's mind set against violence and partly to maintain the sanctity of some sacred tanks. Hunting was forbidden in his kingdom, so that unnecessary killing could be avoided.[147] He himself gave up taking meat during the period of *Ramzan* fasts.[148] He learnt yogic exercises from the *Yogis* and a number of miracles are attributed to him.[149] The king derived consolation from the study of Hindu scriptures in his moments of anxiety.

SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING FOSTERED

The Sultan had rightly realised that his study of scriptures and participation in social and religious customs of his non-Muslim subjects was not enough. He had known them and their culture thoroughly well, and he earnestly desired that his Muslim subjects should also know them well. He was aware of the wide gulf existing between the two communities. It was to bridge that gulf that all his efforts were directed. He aimed at bringing about closer ties between them on the plane of socio-religious relationships without subjecting them to the rigours of a formal code of moral conduct or new religion, as Asoka or Akbar had done. He was conscious of the lack of proper understanding among Hindus and Muslims of each other's culture to be the reason which bred intolerance.[150] He tackled the problem as a staunch realist. He launched a three-pronged attack to liquidate the artificial barriers existing between the two communities.

First, the Sultan caused the translation of Sanskrit works, important as much for their literary merit as for their religious, cultural and philosophical contents, to be made in Kashmiri, and in Persian ; he also had the important works in the afore-said languages translated into Kashmiri.[151] This was one of the ways how he established cultural rapport between different communities.

Secondly, he emphasised the real spirit which underlay each religion, and its observance by all in its true spirit. He took an undertaking from the *Brahmanas* that they would not act in contravention of what their religion required of them.[152] "He directed those," Srivara writes, "who knew the *Shastras* persevere in their duties, for they work justly who know the *Shastras*."[153]

Thirdly, he harmonized religious antagonisms by emphasizing moral outlook on life.[151] The example of his personal life of piety and nobility did much to inspire his subjects, both Muslims and non-Muslims.

The success of Zain-ul-Abidin's policy can be judged from a somewhat exaggerated statement of an anonymous Muslim author who wrote thus in despair : "The customs and traditions of the Hindus and the unbelievers and their acts of sacrilege attained such a magnitude and popularity that the *Ulama*, the learned, the *Sayyids* and the *Qazis* of this land (Kashmir), instead of showing repugnance and forbidding them to do so, began to perform those customs themselves."[155]

CRITICISM BY MUSLIM HISTORIANS

Zain-ul-Abidin's pursuance of an exceptionally tolerant religious policy and patronage of the Hindu religion and culture has been denounced by some Muslim chroniclers. One of the authors, while appreciating the efforts of Sultan Sikandar to wipe out idolatry from Kashmir, criticizes Zain-ul-Abidin for his policy of socio-religious restoration of the "idol-worshippers", "dualists and unbelievers" whose customs and rituals attained great currency.[156] He writes : "In every village and hamlet festivals of the infidels (Hindus) would be celebrated wherein a hundred thousand acts of corruption and misguidance would take place. It caused a great damage to the religion of the holy Prophet."[157] The result was that the Muslim of all classes adopted these practices which "led to the weakening of Islam, decay in its teachings and postulates on the one hand, while on the other, contributed to the strength of the faithless infidels and progress of their corrupt practices and idolatry. This situation prevailed till the arrival of Mir Shams-ud-din Muhammad Iraqi who with his untiring and good efforts helped the extirpation of infidelity."[158] Zain-ul-Abidin is dubbed by another Persian chronicler as an infidel or irreligious (*bedin*).[159] These are the expressions of obscurantism of those whose social environment scarcely permitted them to see beyond their little world, or to appreciate the greatness of a monarch who was far ahead of his time. It was natural for them to see every tolerant step of the Sultan with an unkindly eye, for the conception of religious toleration was unthinkable in an age of religious strife and proselytism. While the impact of the ways of one community over the other cannot be denied, the performance of Hindu customs and rituals by the *Sayyids*, the *Ulama* and the *Qazis* should not be taken too literally in a religious sense. It should be viewed in the purely social context of Hindu-Muslim relationship to which Zain-ul-Abidin's reign was conducive to a remarkable degree.

Zain-ul-Abidin, no doubt, patronised and participated in non-Muslim practices, but he never ceased to be a true Muslim.

According to Haidar Malik, Zain-ul-Abidin did observe the practices of his religion, although not in the same degree of piety as his illustrious father, Sikandar.[160] He was of a religious bent of mind, observing *Ramzan* fasts[161] and devoted to religious meditation.[162] At the time of his death, one could know, by the quivering of his lips that Zain-ul-Abidin was praying.[163] The Sultan honoured the learned men of Islam, and said, "They are my preceptors."[164] His court was graced by a galaxy of Muslim scholars from Persia, Turkistan and Central Asia, and he showed as much respect for the *Sufis* as for the Hindu saints and *Yogis*.[165] He extended patronage equally to the Persian, the Sanskrit and the Kashmiri languages.[166] He consulted the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* on matters of theology and jurisprudence.[167] He kept up relations with a large number of Muslim rulers in and outside India.[168] We know from numismatic evidence that Zain-ul-Abidin called himself *Naib-i-Amir-ul-Muminin*, the Deputy of the Commander of the Faithful.[169]

All this clearly explains that Zain-ul-Abidin was fully alive to the hopes and aspirations of both his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects in an equal degree. Mirza Haidar Dughlat, an illustrious cousin of the Mughal Emperor Babur, who ruled Kashmir for over a decade (1540-1551 A.D.), writes that "in order to humour all the nations of the world, he (Zain-ul-Abidin) paid attention neither to infidelity nor Islam." His assessment of Zain-ul-Abidin's policy is, indeed, made purely from a narrow religious point of view, for the Mirza perhaps expected of him an official patronage of men and affairs of Islam to the total exclusion of all others. Such an idea never appealed Zain-ul-Abidin, for what he strove for was to establish a national state with a common citizenship and a common culture. And the success he achieved was, indeed, astounding. In the process, the people who benefited most were the Hindus whose socio-religious structure, demolished in the previous reigns, had to be reconstructed all over again. It was so unprecedented that a theory had to be invented by the chroniclers establishing Zain-ul-Abidin to be a Hindu saint who resuscitated the Sultan by putting his own soul into his dead body through a yogic feat.[171]

Zain-ul-Abidin did not patronise any religious group at the expense of others. The view that he encouraged peaceful conversions to Islam “by raising the social status and economic position of the converts” is not based on proper evidence.[172] On the contrary, he practically gave a new lease of life to the very existence of the Hindus who expressed their gratitude by giving him the name of *Bod Shah,* “the Great Sovereign.”[172] The name remains ineffaceable in the Kashmiri memory even after a span of five hundred years as a mark of popular esteem.[174] The amount of love and adoration which he received from the grateful Hindus is known from the fact that they elevated him to the status of the incarnation of Vishnu.[175] Emperor Akbar of the Mughal dynasty, who caused the compilation of the history of Kashmir to be made in Persian for his perusal,[176] may have taken a cue from the Sultan's broad scheme of religious toleration. Yet Zain-ul-Abidin remains unsurpassed by his eqaully illustrious Mughal counterpart, for “his views were more enlightened than the Emperor's and he practised a tolerance which Akbar only preached”.[177] The Sultan, in fact, possessed rare courage of conviction and a will “to perform what was beyond the power of the past sovereigns, and what will be beyond the ability of future kings.”[178] Zain-ul-Abidin had thus accomplished what the progressive Indian leadership is striving to achieve even as late as in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

REFERENCES

1. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 171 ; *Tuzuk.*, I, p. 94.
2. For various details see Chapter VIII.
3. For details of these influences see Chapter II, pp. 25-26.
4. J.A.S.B., Vol. 39, (1870), p. 276.
5. For a detailed account of *Sufis* see Chapter VIII.
6. Jonaraja, St. 812. Shirya Bhatta is mentioned in Dutt's translation as Shivabhatta : (p. 82). Mohibbul Hasan wrongly regards Shirya Bhatta and Shivabhatta as two different persons : (*p. 88*).
7. Nizamuddin, p. 653. 8. Jonaraja, Stt. 810-17.
9. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 82.
10. A part of the stanza (No. 817) in Jonaraja's chronicle in this sequence is missing. Dutt, however, fills up the gap by conjectural translation of the stanza that the physician “spent the gold and silver in payment of fines, by which the

twice-born preserved the purity of their caste" : (p. 82). But it does not appear to be so.

11. Nizamuddin, pp. 653-54 ; Firishta, (Lko. ed.), II, p. 432.
12. Jonaraja, (Singh), St. 824 and note.
13. cf. Parmu, p. 141.
14. Jonaraja, Stt. 824, 889. 15. Ibid., St. 889.
16. Shirya Bhatta's death is noticed by Jonaraja (St. 970) who himself died in 1459 A. D.
17. Jonaraja, St. 973. On Abul Fazl's estimate one crore of *dinnars* were equivalent to 2,500 rupees : (Ain., I, pp. 355-56).
18. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1052-53, 1077-91.
19. Ibid., Stt. 657-68.
20. *Baharistan*.. pp. 46, 53 ; Jonaraja, Stt. 654, 755 ; Nizamuddin, p. 654.
21. Jonaraja, Stt. 606, 653 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 13 b ; Haidar Malik, p. 44.
22. Firishta, p. 469. 23. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1048.
24. *Baharistan*., p. 46 ; Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1048 ; Firishta, p. 469 ; Nizamuddin, p. 654.
25. *Baharistan*., p. 46. 26. Nizamuddin, p. 654.
27. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1049-50 ; Nizamuddin, p. 654.
28. Jonaraja, Stt. 864, 869, 879. 29. Nizammuddin, p. 655.
30. Srikanth Kaul, *R. T.*, Intro., p. 107.
31. Nizamuddin, p. 655. 32. *Baharistan*., pp. 53-54.
33. Bhandarkar, I. A , (1911), pp. 3-37.
34. Balazuri, (E & D), I. p. 126 ; Amir Khusrau, (E & D), III, p. 90 ; Denison Ross, *Islam*, p. 18.
35. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, pp. 181-185.
36. Sharma, *Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism*, p. 21. Sharma draws his evidence from the works of contemporary Persian historians, such as, Balazuri, Amir Khusrau, Barani, Afif, Firishta, Qazvini, Jahangir, etc. For details, see pp. 1-21.
37. Jonaraja, Stt. 755, 775-76 ; *Baharistan*., p. 46.
38. Nizamuddin, p. 654.
39. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 2, v, Stt. 80, 88, 100-101 ; *Baharistan*., pp. 46, 53.
40. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 146. 41. Ibid., 1, v, Stt. 56-58.
42. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1320.
43. Srivara, 1, v, St. 59. 44. Jonaraja, St. 770.
45. Sayyid Ali, f. 13 b ; Haidar Malik, p. 43 ; Jonaraja, St. 606.
46. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1077.
47. Stein, *R.T.* I, iv, 201-203n.
48. Jonaraja, Stt. 608-609. 49. I bid., Stt. 652-53.
50. Ibid., (Bo. ed.), St. 1078.
51. Sayyid Ali, f.15a. As against the standard measurement of one *tola* equal to 12 *mashas*, the Kashmiri system has one *tala* equivalent to 16 *mashas* : (*Ain*., II, p. 335).

52. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 87.
53. Jonaraja, Stt. 893, 907, (Bo. ed.), St. 1061 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 28, iii, Stt. 48-50, v, St. 80 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 46 ; Nizamuddin p. 655.
54. Munich MS., f. 70 a. 55. Srivara, 1, v, St. 61.
56. Firishta, p. 464.
57. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 143. Also text, 1, v, St. 61.
58. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1079 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383 ; Firishta, (Lko. ed.), II, p. 342.
59. *Baharistan.*, p. 46.
60. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, ff. 136b, 138a ; Firishta, p. 469 ; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (Urdu tr.), II, p. 50.
61. Srivara, 1, v, St. 44. 62. Jonaraja, Stt. 945-46, 949.
63. cf. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 106.
64. Jonaraja, Stt. 872-74.
65. Srivara, 1, v. Stt. 41, 62-63 ; Jonaraja, St. 869.
66. Jonaraja, St. 889. 67. Ibid., St. 834.
68. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 78. 69. Ibid., Stt. 768-69, 821.
70. Ibid., St. 770 ; Nizamuddin, p. 655.
71. Jonaraja, St. 837.
72. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 140. The Sanskrit chroniclers, Jonaraja and Srivara, frequently refer to the Muslims and the *Brahmanas* as *Yavanas* and twice-born respectively.
73. Nizamuddin, pp. 652-53. 74. Srivara, 1, iv, Stt. 37-39.
75. Jonaraja, (Singh), St. 771 and note.
76. Ibid., (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1052-53. 77. Ibid., St. 824.
78. Ibid., Stt. 824-27. 79. Ibid., Stt. 948-50.
80. Ibid., St. 972. 81. Haidar Malik, pp. 45, 47.
82. Jonaraja, St. 823. Khosla wrongly mentions the appointment of Tilakacharya in the reign of Sultan Ali Shah on the basis of an incorrect reference to Jonaraja : (*History of Buddhism in Kashmir*, p. 54).
83. *Baharistan.*, p. 54. 84. Jonaraja, St. 772.
85. Ibid., Stt. 864, 869, 879 ; Srivara, 1, v, St. 3.
86. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 115 Sqq. 87. Jonaraja, St. 898.
88. Nizamuddin, p. 656. 89. Jonaraja, Stt. 898-99.
90. Srivara, 1, v, St. 18. The town of Shankarpura was built by king Shankarvarmana (883-902 A.D.) which is survived in the modern village of Patan situated, circ. 74° 37′ long. 34°10′ lat ; (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 481).
91. Srivara, 1, v, St. 40. 92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 142. 94. Jonaraja, St. 873.
95. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 142. 96. Ibid., p. 143.
97. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., pp. 108-109.
98. Srivara, 1, i, St. 28. 99. Jonaraja, St. 893.
100. Nizamuddin, p. 661.

101. For details of miracles see *Tuzuk*., I, pp. 94-95 ; Nizamuddin, p. 661 ; Srivara, 1, v, St. 104 ; Jonaraja, Stt. 975-76.
102. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 53-55 ; Nizamuddin, p. 661 ; *Ain*., II, p. 383.
103. *Ain*., II, p. 383. Srivara also mentions him as a saint putting up a noble appearance in his piety : (1, i, St. 55, v, St. 96).
104. Srivara, 1, v, St. 75. 105. Sayyid Ali, f. 13b.
106. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 66, 86-87.
107. Jonaraja, St. 907. It is a local Kashmiri *Purana* composed sometime in 6th or 7th century A.D. It is a mine of information on the sacred antiquities of Kashmir and one of the sources of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* : (For further details see *Buhler's Report*, J.B.B.R.A.S., Extra Number, (1877), pp. 37 Sqq. and Stein, *R.T.*, II, pp. 276-77).
108. Srivara, 1, v, St. 80. Srivara's *Vasishtha Brahmadarshana* of Valmiki is in reality the *Jnana Vasishtha* also called *Vasishtha Ramayana* composed by Valmiki as an appendage to the *Ramayana* originally taught by Vasishtha to Rama. It deals mainly with *Yoga* and *Advaita Vedanta* by means of illustrative stories intended to explain the best means of attaining true happiness : (Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 21).

109. Srivara, (Dutt), pp. 145-46. 110. Ibid., 1, v, St. 88.
111. *Gita Govinda* was composed by Jayadeva, a great Sanskrit poet of the 12th-century Bengal. It is a celestial song in praise of Lord Krishna : (For details about the poet and his work see Krishnamachariar, *op. cit*., pp. 339-41).
112. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 147. 113. For details see Chapter VII.
114. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 166. 115. Ibid., I, vii, Stt. 134-37.
116. Ibid., Stt. 138-40. 117. *Baharistan*., p. 46.
118. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 46. Jayapidapura is identified with the modern village of Andarkot situated on the Sambal lake, 74° 42′ long. 34° 13′ lat. (Stein, *R.T.*, I, iv, 505-11n)
119. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 48. 120. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 124.
121. Ibid., 1, *iii*, Stt. 50-51. 122. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 124.
123. Ibid., 1, iii, Stt. 53,58, *Vyath* is the Kashmiri word for the Jehlam contracted from Vitasta, the ancient name of the river. *Truvah* in Kashmiri means thirteen : (*Tuzuk*., II, pp. 167-68 and note). For the legend see Kalhana, I, iv, 301n).
124. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 124. 125. Ibid., 1, iv, Stt. 1-2, 4, 8, 12.
126. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 132.
127. Ibid., 1, iv, Stt. 6, 9, 10, 13, 16.
128. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 134. 129. Ibid., 1, iv, Stt. 19, 27.
130. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1060. Dedicated to Durga and situated at an elevated spot near the confluence of the Kishan-

ganga and the Madhumati stream in the north-west of Kashmir, the temple of Sarada enjoyed considerable reputation from ancient times: (For details see Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p 339 and Stein, *R.T.*, II, pp. 279-89).

131. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1057, 1062 ; Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 287.
132. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1053-71.
133. Ibid., St. 1070, as interpreted by Stein (*R.T.*, II, p. 287).
134. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 221 and note.
135. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1070.
136. Ibid., (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1233 Sqq. Martanda is modern Matan : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 466).
137. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1233, 1234, 1243, 1244, 1251.
138. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 88-95, 99-100.
139. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 393.
140. Srivara, 1, vi, St. 95.
141. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 147.
142. Ibid., 1, v, Stt 99-101.
143. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 148.
144. Ibid.
145. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 148.
146. Jonaraja, St. 953.
147. Nizamuddin, p. 657 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
148. Nizamuddin, p. 657.
149. Ibid., p. 661.
150. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 146.
151. Ibid.
152. Nizamuddin, p. 654.
153. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 101.
154. Jonaraja, Stt. 773-74.
155. *Baharistan.*, p. 54.
156. Ibid , p. 53.
157. Ibid., pp. 53-54.
158. Ibid., p. 54. Mir Shams-ud-din Muhammad Iraqi was a *Nurbakhshiya* preacher from Herat who popularised his religious views in Kashmir after 1481 A. D. : (For details see Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 285-87).

159. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, f. 106 a.
160. Haidar Malik, p. 45.
161. Nizamuddin, p. 657.
162. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 171.
163. Ibid., I, vii, St. 216.
164. Nizamuddin, p. 656.
165. Jonaraja, Stt. 846-48, 852, 873. 898-99 ; Srivara, I, v, Stt. 43-44 ; Baharistan., pp. 30, 31, 52 ; Sayyid Ali, ff. 17b-18b.
166. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 82-86.
167. Jonaraja, St. 853 ; Haidar Malik, p. 47.
168. For details see Chapter III.
169. J. A. S. B., Vol. XLVIII, (1879), p. 284.
170. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 434.
171. Nizamuddin, p. 662 ; *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru*, p. 75.
172. For discussion on this issue, see Appendix C.

173. *Baharistan.*, p. 54. "*Bod Shah*" in Kashmiri means, "a great sovereign."
174. So psychologically inspiring is the association of the name, *Bod Shah*, that even today the Kashmiri labourers and boatmen repeatedly utter, while engaged in a manual work, "*Bod Shah*", "*Padshah*" perhaps to help ease their difficult task : (Parmu, p. 171, 198n.).
175. Jonaraja, Stt. 935, 973 ; Srivara, 1, v, St. 104.
176. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., pp. 19-20.
177. Haig, *Camb. History of India*, III, p. 281.
178. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 90.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The political institutions of a country reflect not only the hopes and aspirations of its people but also reflect glimpses of the social efforts which have created and moulded its civilization. They are as much the product of the local genius as of the varied influences which sweep a country from time to time across the centuries. And Kashmir has been no exception. The early Muslim rulers of Kashmir almost continued the indigenous governing institutions. Sultan Sikandar was the first Muslim ruler to have attempted a big change, and that in a violent manner. But the impact was only skin-deep. It was, however, left to his son, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, to reorganise the administrative structure with rare maturity and vision. He was not much of an innovator. He was a great reformer. He believed in reconstruction and improvement rather than in an unimaginative replacement. He retained the old institutions which were useful, besides the new ones which he created. He even revived those demolished by his father, and infused into them vigour and efficiency. No wonder that in many cases, as the following would reveal, he even retained the Sanskrit designations of various officials and departments.

TERRITORIAL EXTENT, DEPENDENCIES AND TRIBUTARY STATES

The main territory over which the Kashmir rulers held their sway, either as independent sovereigns or as governors of Indian emperors, remained confined over the centuries to the natural confines of the Valley of Kashmir drained by the headwaters of the river Jehlum. This is testified to both by the accounts of foreign travellers and of indigenous writers. The chronicles of Kalhana, Jonaraja and Srivara unmistakably prove that "the Kashmir of Kashmirian tradition never extended materially beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges which encircle and protect the Valley."[1] But the sovereignty and political influence of Kashmir kings did extend at times beyond Kashmir proper to the neighbouring and distant regions. Its nature and extent kept fluctuating in accordance with the political exigencies and the capacity and attitudes of Kashmir rulers. While the kings like Lalitaditya[2] and Shihab-ud-din were driven to careers of conquests by sheer instincts of imperialism and sense of glory, Zain-ul-Abidin's measures were chiefly defence-oriented as discussed earlier. His defence needs determined the extent of non-Kashmiri territory under effective administrative control, strategic position, nature of dependencies and tributary states encircling the Valley. To the immediate south and south-west of Kashmir, all the hill-states of Lohara, Rajauri, and other unspecified small states as far as Naushahra, excluding Bhimbhar, referred to collectively as "the outer country", were brought under the administrative control of Zain-ul-Abidin's government.[3] To the east and north-east were the states of Ladakh and Baltistan subjugated by the Sultan which paid tributes to and accepted the paramountcy of Kashmir.[4] To the west of Kashmir lay the kingdom of Sindhu across the river Indus in the north-west region of Gandhara whose ruler owed his throne to Zain-ul-Abidin. This kingdom remained a dependency of Kashmir until the death of its ruler Qayam-ud-din, a nephew of Zain-ul-Abidin, sometime towards the close of the Sultan's reign.[5] Later, Rajauri was delinked from Kashmir's actual control and placed as a dependency under Jayasimha in recognition of his services to Zain-ul-Abidin.[6]

IDEAL OF KINGSHIP

The government of the Sultans of Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, was an absolute monarchy in the legal and political sense. But theirs was not an unrestrained autocracy; their authority was circumscribed by law, the nobility and the *Ulama* in varying degrees depending upon the capacity and ideology of each individual ruler. The conception of sovereignty of the early Sultans of Kashmir was yet to conform to the description given by Islamic theologians and jurists, for they, unlike their Delhi counterparts, did not hail from the land of Islamic orthodoxy.[7] Shams-ud-din's great-grandfather was a Hindu convert, and

Panchagahvara in the neighbourhood of Rajauri to which the family belonged[8] could hardly have been a source of Islamic inspiration, for as late as in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Emperor Jahangir had issued orders for punishment of the Muslim inhabitants of Rajauri for their un-Islamic acts.[9] The influence of Islam, no doubt, had been felt in Kashmir from very early times and the process was accelerated by the influx of adventurers and missionaries of Islam in increasing numbers with the establishment of the Sultanate in Kashmir. But it had not yet made a dent on the political institutions of Kashmir. Despite Shams-ud-din's inclination towards *Hanafi* doctrines and practices, he had not gone beyond the introduction of the recitation of *Khutba* in his name.[10] His immediate successors were Muslims in name only, for there was nothing tangible to distinguish them from their Hindu predecessors.[11] Sultan Qutb-ud-din, though much influenced by Sayyid Ali Hamadani, did not refashion his government in accordance with Islamic ideals, for he knew Kashmir to be overwhelmingly inhabited by Hindus, whom he was averse to antagonise.[12] Sikandar was the first Muslim king of Kashmir to have vigorously tried to conform his government, both in theory and practice, to what his religion required of him.[13] He attempted to establish himself as an ideal Muslim king whose primary functions, according to Muslim jurists, were:

(*i*) to protect and maintain the faith, defend the territories of Islam, and wage holy wars against its enemies ; and

(*ii*) to discharge his legal and public duties as the supreme judge and administrator with the help of his officers.[14]

In the sweep of his religious enthusiasm enforced by the exhortations of religious fanatics, Sikandar was carried off his balance and committed excesses against his non-Muslim subjects. The result was a wide-spread confusion in their ranks. The confusion became worse confounded under Ali Shah who, while perpetuating the atrocities in a greater magnitude, failed to stereotype the restructured government after the Islamic fashion, for he was a weak and inefficient ruler.

It was at this juncture that Zain-ul-Abidin took over Kashmir as Sultan when the conception of Muslim sovereignty and the ideal of kingship were in a state of confusion, if not in abeyance. It is this dark background which sets off the radiance of Zain-ul-Abidin's highly enlightened ideas of kingly duties, conceived to raise the drooping spirits of his distressed subjects, and to prepare them for the astonishing reversal of their fortune which would have put both his father and brother to shame.

Zain-ul-Abidin was, in theory, the head of an absolute monarchy concentrating all the executive, legislative and judicial powers in his hands. But in practice he was a kind and benevolent ruler, and his rule an enlightened autocracy. Jonaraja writes : "He (Zain-ul-Abidin) was graced with power, kindness, and wisdom in a greater degree than any other king that had reigned before."[15] The reins to his theoretically unrestrained power were the law and his conscience rather than the nobility and the Ulama. These—the law and conscience—inculcated in him a unique sense of duty which he owed to his subjects without discrimination. He was like a father-figure to his people spending busy days and anxious nights, making enquiries after their welfare, and protecting them as his sons.[16] He is depicted by the chroniclers as feeding his famine-stricken subjects like his children for months, making extensive tours in a boat of the flood-affected areas immersed in anxious thoughts, undertaking pilgrimages to Hindu shrines by traversing distances on foot for days,[17] performing *Yoga* and at the same time attending to each tenet of his Islamic faith with piety and devotion.[18] He found solace in the company of *Yogis* and *Sufis*, and was himself venerated as a saint by his people, and was spoken of as a righteous king and the incarnation of Vishnu.[19]

For such a king there was nothing dearer than the welfare of his subjects. Few monarchs in Indian history have emphasised so much the ruler's obligations to his people as he has done. He was anxious that his benevolent measures should be continued by his successors as well. He not only levied a lower rate of taxation on the extraction of gold, but also "caused an order to be inscribed on a copper plate, to the effect that future kings should take only a sixth part of the gold obtained from rivers."[20] For a newly-reclaimed land at Zainagiri, an inscription on a copper plate, as an advice to his successors, ran thus : "Shri Jainallavadina (Zain-ul-Abidin) begs future kings to take one seventh of the produce of the land which he by his money cleared and brought under cultivation at Jainagiri."[21] He was once questioned by his ministers why he proposed to leave behind a vast treasure for the use of his faithless sons. They advised him to spend it during his life-time and make it pay his way to the next world. The reply which the Sultan gave is a classic example of his paternal affection for his people. He said : "When I am dead, any of my sons who may gain the kingdom will be satisfied with the savings left, and will not covet for the wealth of my subjects who are dearer to me than my sons, and I think it my duty to protect them. I will thus prevent the future oppression of the subjects with the savings I have made. He enjoys whose treasury is full, and when it is drained, he oppresses the subjects. If the lion's hunger is satisfied, he plays with the cavern ; but if hungry, he devours the beasts of the forest. One would call me a foresighted man, and will not speak ill of me when the subjects will be free from oppression in future on account of my savings."[22] Zain-ul-Abidin regarded the prosperity of his people as a bulwark against political instability and as a source of strength for the State. He once said : "When the palace is full of riches, men outside will become rich and will be friendly to the king. If the clouds did not take water from the sea how could they shower it on the ground."[23] He enjoined upon himself the duty of looking after the economic interests of his people and displayed a rare ideal of kingship in his consideration of thefts and robberies in his kingdom as a reflection upon the efficiency of his government. No wonder that the eradication of such crimes fell under the scheme of reforms[24] rather than the rigours of mutilation of limbs not uncommon in those early times.[25] Zain-ul-Abidin s cherished ideal of his people's prosperity is, indeed, an anti-thesis of what Ala-ud-din Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, believed to be an important cause of his people's rebellious attitude to which the remedy he applied was economic servitude.[26]

Zain-ul-Abidin was not a stern and cruel master like Ala-ud-din Khalji. His rule was remarkable for personal feelings of attachment which he displayed for all those who assisted him in the management of the State. And when they died he distributed enormous amount of money to their dependents.[27] He lamented once : "None of those with whom I have spent my former years is left behind ; the affliction which I feel for their absence will last to the end of my life."[28]

The Sultan's patronge of learning and of learned men, promotion of arts and crafts, dance, drama, painting and music of all kinds, architecture, laying of towns and cities and their exquisite beautification[29] add great lustre and dimension to his kingship. And when the ruin of this grand fabric was foreshadowed by the misdoings of his sons, he remarked : "I have long enjoyed this kingdom and have tasted the joys of religion, song, literature and my life is satiated. I have no other work to do. I have, owing to my love for my subjects, increased all the new productions of the country three-fold by means of canal, cultivation, and by other ways. I have always conversed with learned persons for the preservation of the six schools of philosophy, have invited such persons from all places, and granted lands for holy purposes. But as there are gaps between the teeth in the mouth so there are defects in the gevernment of the country and they are causing me pain every day. I shall, therefore, secure happiness by leaving the kingdom (i.e. death)."[30] Even in the manner of his death, one sees the glimpse of a great saint and an ideal king. He was lying ill in distress at the misconduct of his sons, and the physicians, his chronicler states, "did not know the cause nor the symptoms of illness, but I think he took the vow of fasting in order to get rid of his affliction."[31]

Zain-ul-Abidin's government was remarkable for vigour, efficiency, religious tolerance and humanism. Perhaps no Muslim king before him had ever attempted so much and with such astonishing success. Scarcely in the annals of Islamic kingship there is any record comparable to that of Zain-ul-Abidin. His greatness as a ruler lies not in the stirring conquests, of which he has none to his credit, but in the principles for which he stood and the ideals with which he governed his people. He had added new dimensions to the Islamic ideal of kingship. He put up a semblance of an Islamic state. He sought recognition from the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt for providing a legal basis to his monarchy in the eyes of Islamic orthodoxy, and he called himself *Naib-i-Amir-ul-Muminin.*[32] The existence of the Caliphate in Cairo was only an Islamic fiction, for the Caliphs possessed no real authority and in reality were at the mercy of the Mamluks of Egypt.[33] Zain-ul-Abidin recognised in principle the existence of *Zimmis* in his kingdom in accordance with the Islamic theory by retaining the *Jizya.* Its continuance was again a fiction for even its substantially reduced amount from two *pals* to one *masha* was never realized by his government.[34] For the enforcement of *Shariat* he maintained the exalted office of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* in his kingdom.[35] The Sultan consulted him and other doctors of religion and law, but never considered himself bound by their advice if it could not convince him[36] for he himself was well-versed in law and jurisprudence.[37]

By holding the liberal principles of an Islamic State, Zain-ul-Abidin unmistakably demonstrated that a Muslim monarchy was capable of according full status of citizenship to its non-Muslim subjects in practice, if not in theory. He thus left behind foot-prints for tolerant rulers like Akbar to improve upon this concept and to implement it on a much larger political canvas. But judging by actual results, Zain-ul-Abidin perhaps achieved greater success in the establishment of a national state and a common culture than his later Mughal counterpart.

INSIGNIA OF SOVEREIGNTY

Various symbols of royalty were associated with the kings of Kashmir, as of Delhi, which conferred some exclusive privileges on them by virtue of their sovereign status. Like others before and after him, Zain-ul-Abidin also enjoyed certain prerogatives, namely, the assumption of titles, the recitation of *Khutba* and the striking of coins in his name, the use of *Chhatr* (royal umbrella), *Chamar* (fly-whisker), Crown, Banner, Throne and Chariot, the possession of Royal Stable, Treasury and Artillery. Srivara repeatedly refers to the seven insignia of royal power[38] which include the King, the Kingdom, the Fort, the Treasury and the Army.[39]

Prince Shabi Khan, as noted earlier, had ascended the throne under the title of Zain-ul-Abidin, and later he also assumed the title of *Naib-i-Amir-ul-Muminin.* None of his coins discovered so far bears the name of the Caliph. The recitation of the *Khutba* in the Sultan's name was first introduced by Shams-ud-din,[40] and the practice continued throughout the Sultanate period, with only three interruptions.[41] A common practice had developed from the beginning of the tenth century A.D. among the Muslim rulers of including the name of the Caliph of Baghdad along with their own in the recitation of the *Khutba*.[42] But the insertion of the Caliph's name in the *Khutba* is nowhere mentioned in the annals of Kashmlr, although Zain-ul-Abidin owed nominal allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt. In fact, this practice was discontinued by the Muslim rulers after the setting up of the puppet Caliphate at Cairo.[43] A number of coins have been discovered bearing the name of Zain-ul-Abidin and his titles. The Sultan is also recorded to have exercised another royal privilege by distributing *Khilats* (robes of honour) after the old Persian fashion to the followers of Haji Khan in recognition of their loyal services rendered during the period of his exile.[44] *Chhatr* and *Chamar* have been referred to as having been in the exclusive use of the Sultan,[45] and they were buried with the corpse when Zain-ul-Abidin died.[46] We also find references to the use of *Dhwaja* (royal banner) by the Sultan in times of war in the works of Sanskrit chroniclers.[47] Silk banners also adorned the government buildings,[48] and the royal boats.[49] The Throne had great importance as a symbol of sovereignty. When Haji Khan rose against his father, his ministers urged him to proceed to the capital and seize the throne.[50] The throne Zain-ul-Abidin used was made of stone, three-cornered in shape and built at an elevation in the audience hall of his palace.[51] The Chariot was also a symbol of royalty under Zain-ul-Abidin[52] as it was during Hindu times.[53] The maintenance of the Royal Stable,[54] the Treasury[55] and the Artillery[56] constituted an exclusive privilege of Zain-ul-Abidin as a sovereign.

ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

The whole State machinery centred round the strong personality of Zain-ul-Abidin, and the Royal Household was as such the centre of all governmental activity. In a culture state, as Kashmir had evolved itself under him,[57] the Royal Court assumed new dimensions and became the chief source of patronage and inspiration for all cultural exuberance in the kingdom. The multifarious affairs of State management which the Sultan conducted and the spectacular attainment of cultural ascendancy which he promoted necessitated a well-organised hierarchy of officials operating in the Royal Household. One of the most important officials was the minister-in-waiting referred to by Srivara as *Pratihara*.[58] This office was first created by Lalitaditya and was called *Mahapratiharapida*.[59] Nobody could meet the Sultan without his permission. Haji Khan, once gripped with feelings of shame for his rebellion against the Sultan, solicited the permission of Abhimanyu, the *Pratihara*, to meet his father for seeking his forgiveness.[60] The *Pratihara* had under him several men employed to perform a variety of unspecified duties including those of guarding the palace gate. He also had a military contingent posted under him for the protection of the whole royal establishment.[61] Abhimanyu had to fight against the princes, Haji Khan and Adam Khan, when they rebelled against the Sultan.[62] The office of the *Pratihara* was obviously one of considerable importance, and invariably went to a powerful and trusted noble with proven military ability. Srivara speaks of the powerful Rajanak and Rig who with Abhimanyu successively held this high position.[63] In Rig's death, Zain-ul-Abidin had lost a hero. In the eyes of Haji Khan's counsellors Rig's death weakened the Sultan's position and correspondingly increased the chances of the prince's success in seizing power from the king.[64] The Royal Stable was a wing of surpeme importance in the Royal Household. It was located in the yard of the king's palace.[65] Its importance is proven by the fact that the seizure of the Royal Stable by Haji Khan at Zain-ul-Abidin's death finally decided the struggle for the throne in his favour.[66] The designation of the officer-in-charge of the Royal Stable is not mentioned. Other important functionaries of the Royal Household were the Royal Physician, the Royal Astrologer, the Poet Laureate, the Guardians of the Princes, and the Court-chroniclers who worked in intimate relation with the Sultan and exercised great influence on the government Karpura Bhatta was not only the king's personal physician, but also took medical care of members of the king's Council of Ministers, and was instrumental in providing shelter to men of merit.[67] Zain-ul-Abidin is shown as taking keen interest in astrology and astronomy,[68] and his Royal Astrologer, Ruyya Bhatta, was so proficient in his calling that he could foretell, without actual calculations, the position of the planets a year in advance by mere observation.[69] Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri and, after him, Mulla Nadiri were the Poet Laureates of Zain-ul-Abidin.[70] Jonaraja and Srivara were the Court-poets and Chroniclers[71] the latter of whom was one of the Sultan's closest confidants.[72] The Guardian of the Prince was an official of high status. In the time of Rinchana, Shah Mir was the Guardian of Prince Haidar.[73] Zain-ul-Abidin had committed his sons, Adam Khan and Haji Khan, to the care of two brothers, Hasan Thakur and Husain Thakur, under whose guardianship the two princes grew into manhood.[74] The Royal Nurse, though a minor official, exercised much influence as one being intimately associated with the Sultan. The Nurse, whose name is not mentioned, secured high posts for her sons. Her eldest son, Mir Thakur, was a judge, while her two younger sons, Hasan and Husain, were the Guardians of the Princes.[75] The Guardian was expected to be well-versed in kingcraft besides being a good soldier and a commander, for military training formed the chief part of the prince's curriculum. In fact, both Hasan and Husain rendered useful military service to the Sultan.[76] But Zain-ul-Abidin had, indeed, committed a serious error of judgment in elevating and pampering his Nurse's family. Not only did the influence the Guardians exercised on the young prince prove disastrous,[77] but also their treachery caused the Sultan much anxiety later in his life, and at a juncture when the fratricidal struggle among his sons entered a critical stage.[78] The Nurse's two sons, Masud Thakur and Shura Thakur, also created trouble in the kingdom by their lawless activities.[79] There was in the Royal Household another important functionary who looked after the Sultan's remarkably generous distribution of charities. Jonaraja particularly mentions the name of Jayya Bhatta who distributed one crore of *dinnars* to the sons of the king s favourite after his death.[80] The slaves who constituted an integral part of the Royal Household, and played a vital role under the Sultans of Delhi,[81] do not appear to be a significant factor in Zain-ul-Abidin's time, for they had been mentioned but once as lamenting the death of Zain-ul-Abidin.[82] Nothing has either been recorded about the Royal Kitchen or about the designation of the officer who controlled it, but one Shiva Bhatta is mentioned by Srivara as looking after Zain-ul-Abidin's meals.[83] The library which the Sultan built up with much personal effort was a part of the Royal Household, and it is reported to have been in existence till the reign of his grandson, Fath Shah.[84] Hunting was a source of enjoyment for the princes[85] but the Sultan does not appear to have indulged in this sport. On the contrary, his ascetic outlook even drove him to forbid the hunting of animals.[86] Both during the Hindu and early Sultanate periods, remarkable instances of the royal family playing important role in Kashmir politics come to light.[87] But there is nothing of the sort on record in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. The Sultan's chief queen donated her valuable necklace to Madrasat-ul-Ulum, a school in the principality of Sialkot[88] ruled by the Khokhar chief with whom Zain-ul-Abidin had friendly relations as noticed earlier.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The Sultan was hardly expected to attend personally to the manifold activities of the State. Like all other rulers, in Kashmir and elsewhere, Zain-ul-Abidin was assisted by a Council of Ministers, called synonymously by the Sanskrit chroniclers as *Amatya Parishad*[89] or *Mantri Sabha*[90] This Council should not be confused with a modern cabinet which is collectively responsible to the head of the executive and dependent for its existence on a democratic majority. Zain-ul-Abidin was the head of an absolute monarchy, which vested in him all the executive, legislative, and judicial functions which he discharged with the help of this Council. It was a sort of an advisory body enjoying the confidence of the Sultan. Its members held office at the pleasure of the king. The Sultan chiefly determined the broad lines of national policy and exercised a coordinating and unifying influence over different government departments. The ministers, in short, were the instruments of the royal will. On crucial issues they met in a body, and it was upto Zain-ul-Abidin to accept or reject their advice. Because of acting on the advice of his ministers he was successful in ousting his rebellious son Adam Khan and saving the capital from destruction.[91] On the other hand, on the issue of succession, the Sultan persistently declined to accept their advice to bestow the kingdom on one of his sons because of his old age and failing health.[92] He also rejected their suggestion regarding the amount of accumulated royal treasure to be left for his disloyal sons.[93] Apart from their executive functions, the Ministers-in-Council also assisted the Sultan in deciding cases which came up before the King's Court.[94]

The *Mantri Sabha* does not appear to have had a fixed number and its membership varied from time to time In the event of a minister's death changes were made in the ministry. When Darya Khan, Mir Khush Ahmad and others died, Zain-ul-Abidin reconstituted the Council.[95] The position and influence of a minister depended on his ability and efficiency, for when one or more of the members of the Sultan's highly efficient team died, the ministers in the newly-constituted ministry remained so "only in name."[96] Shirya Bhatta, Tilakacharya[97] and Darya Khan[98] were among the influential ministers of his time.

DEPARTMENTS AND OFFICIALS

We find scattered all over the pages of Persian and Sanskrit works references to various departments and officials. In the absence of any direct information on the lines on which Zain-ul-Abidin developed his administrative system, we have to piece together these references to reconstruct to know how and with what instruments the illustrious Sultan had run his government at all levels with admirable results.

PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister was the highest official in the State, and he enjoyed considerable administrative powers. In the time of Hindu rulers he was first called *Mukhyamantri* and later *Sarvadhikara.*[99] With the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, the office came to be redesignated as *Wazir.*[100] Great importance is attached to this office by Muslim political thinkers.[101] Under Zain-ul-Abidin appointment to this high post rotated within the royal family, and was successively held by Muhammad Khan, the younger brother of Zain-ul-Abidin, and, after his death, by the Sultan's second son, Haji Khan.[102] The *Wazir's* duties, besides administrative supervision, included judicial investigation and military service. Referring to the position of Muhammad Khan, as an incumbent of the exalted office, Jonaraja writes that he "became his (Sultan's) partner in royalty, his counsellor in matters of policy and a judge in the investigation of the *Shastras* (legal treatises)".[103] He became through the king's influence, the chronicler continues, "like the king save only that he had not the royal umbrella and *chamara*."[104] Unlike those who preceded and followed him, Muhammad Khan does not appear to have discharged military duties, for he is not recorded as leading any expedition against a rebel or an external enemy.

ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT

The high office of the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* which headed the department of ecclesiastical affairs was created by Sultan Sikandar for the first time in Kashmir.[105] Haidar Malik wrongly ascribes its creation to Zain-ul-Abidin[106] Incorrect is also the statement of an early 20th-century Persian writer that the office of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* existed in Kashmir as early as the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-din, and the first person to hold the office was one Mulla Ahmad Allama who arrived in the company of Bulbul Shah from Turkistan.[107] The establishment of this office by Sikandar is not only supported by reliable authority but also by the fact that Sikandar was the type of ruler who constantly needed the advice of a staunch protagonist of Islamic law and theology for a fruitful implementation of his theory of government. The incumbent of this high office was expected to be a person distinguished alike for Islamic learning and for piety, whom the Sultan consulted on all important issues relating to religious and legal affairs. His chief duty was to see that law according to the *Shariat* was properly enforced. Unlike Sikandar, Zain-ul-Abidin did not always act according to his advice. A case is on record when the Sultan—while trying a criminal on a charge of murder — turned down his advice on the mode of punishment.[103] Maulana Kabir, a distinguished scholar of his time, was accredited to the office of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* by Zain-ul-Abidin.[109] The *Shaikh-ul-Islam* also held the charge of a large endowment comprising several villages not only for his own maintenance but also for the whole religious and legal establishment including the *Ulama*, the *Sayyids* and the *Qazis* as also the mendicants and the beggars.[110] Under the Sultans of Delhi, he was a subordinate official charged with the maintenance of hospices and of *Sufis*, *Faqirs* and *Darvishes*.[111]

MINISTER FOR JUSTICE

The Department of Justice was placed under a functionary of high status called *Dharmadhikara*. The office was first created in the eighth century A.D. to administer law cases and to look after the administration of the department.[112] The functions of the *Dharmadhikara* were, however, taken over by the *Qazi* and *Shaikh-ul-Islam* under Sultan Sikandar. But, again, in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin, Jonaraja refers to Shirya Bhatta, an influential minister, as holding charge of the office of *Dharmadhikara*.[113] He not only superintended the courts of justice but also tried cases,[114] and as a member of the King's Council participated in the deliberations of the highest judicial body of the kingdom. In addition, the Sultan consulted Shirya Bhatta on all important matters relating to the Hindus, such as the removal of their socio-religious, educational, and economic disabilities and irritants, the repeal of oppressive measures, as also the introduction of social reforms for their betterment.[115]

MAHATTAMA

The official who headed the Revenue Department under the Hindu rulers was called *Grhakrtyadhikarin* or *Grhakrtya-mahattama*.[116] Jonaraja refers to the latter as *Mahattama* in its abbreviated form in connection with Zain-ul-Abidin's government,[117] but he does not tell us anything about the nature of his duties. Details are, however, supplied by Ksemendra. It was with the sanction of this official, he states, that the salaries were disbursed to royal servants, grants given to temples, to the *Brahmanas*, to the poor and others, and expenditure incurred on fodder for the animals. He appointed revenue officers of his own choice.[118] His discretion in the appointment of officials is also strongly suggested by a Sanskrit chronicler.[119] Under Zain-ul-Abidin, the office of *Mahattama* was held by an influential Buddhist minister, Tilakacharya.[120]

MIR BAKHSHI

The head of the Military Department was *Mir Bakhshi*. The first reference to this designation is noticed in the reign of Sultan Ali Shah,[121] the immediate predecessor of Zain-ul-Abidin. Its continuance in Zain-ul-Abidin's time should not be a matter of doubt for a *Mir Bakhshi* is mentioned to have been responsible under Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak, a later king, for the recruitment of soldiers, disbursement of their salaries, and the maintenance of registers for their records.[122]

TREASURER

The Treasurer was an official of high status exercising control over the Royal Treasury. One of the designations by which this official was known in ancient Kashmir was *Ganjavara* which is "recognised with the Persian *Ganjwar*."[123] It is highly improbable that the Persian designation was discarded by the Muslim rulers though Srivara denotes it by a Sanskrit word *Kosesa*.[124] That this official in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin was a very important minister is borne by the fact that Hasan, the Treasurer, became instrumental in securing the support of Zain-ul-Abidin's ministers and courtiers to Haji Khan's succession after the Sultan's death.[125]

ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

The Accountant General referred to by Zain-ul-Abidin's Court-chronicler as *Gananaswami*[126] or *Gananapati*[127] maintained the account of income and expenditure. This official in ancient Kashmir was called *Gananadhipati* and his office the *Gananadhipatisthana*.[128] Under Zain-ul-Abidin the office of *Gananapati* was held by Simha who was as much influential as Shirya Bhatta or Tilakacharya had been.[129]

SUPERINTENDENT OF BUILDINGS

Zain-ul-Abidin was a great builder and town-planner and his reign was characterized by an almost continuous building activity as much for the restoration of old dilapidated edifices as for new constructions. For a work of such enormous magnitude a huge establishment was essential. Jonaraja tells us of the appointment of Ruyya Bhandapati, a proficient architect, as the Superintendent of Buildings who supervised, among others, the construction of Zainalank, an island with a complex of buildings,[130] and the founding of towns and cities, such as Zainakotta, Surtranapura, Zainapattan and Zainakundala.[131]

INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT

Zain-ul-Abidin had an efficiently organised espionage system under him. The government spies moved about in every part of the kingdom and reported to the Sultan the movement of enemies. He constantly kept himself in touch, through them, with the condition of his subjects.[132] Sometimes the Sultan himself meandered in disguise through the streets of the capital for this purpose.[133] Speaking of the efficient working of this department, Srivara states that the Sultan had means to know everything concerning his people save their dreams.[134]

TRANSLATION BUREAU

Zain-ul-Abidin had set up a Translation Bureau for the purpose of translating important Persian works into Sanskrit, and vice versa, and of both into the vernacular, i.e., the Kashmiri language [135]

COURT OF REGISTRATION

In order to prevent frauds in the sale of lands, Zain-ul-Abidin established a Court of Registration where sale deeds were registered so that the sale could not be subsequently denied. This office is called *Dharmadhikarana* by Jonaraja.[136]

RECORD OFFICE

There was a provincial **Record** Office at Suyyapura where official records of Kramarajya were maintained.[137] The records were written on *bhurja* leaves,[138] for although paper began to be manufactured under Zain-ul-Abidin[139] its use in official business is not mentioned by any authority during his time.[140] In a fire accident, these records were completely reduced to ashes.[141] The fact that this office only kept records relating to Kramarajya strongly suggests the existence of a similar office at Srinagar containing the records of Madavarajya.[142]

MARGESA

The protective character of mountains encircling the Kashmir Valley is well known. It was on the proper defence of various passes leading into Kashmir that the safety of the Valley always depended. This necessitated the establishment of a watch-station at each pass, under an officer referred to as *Margesa* in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. He used to be a feudal chief of the area holding a hereditary charge of the pass. Apart from his duty of defending, he looked after the administration of the frontier district as well in which the pass of his posting lay.[143] His office also served as an octroi post where duties on the commercial movement of goods were collected.[144] At the head of a fortified garrison, the *Margesa* was expected to be a dependable military commander for the "charge required soldierly qualities and implied rough duties."[145] Abul Fazl's statement that "the passes are all so narrow that a few old men might repel a large army"[146] is a hyperbolic expression employed to convey the idea of the defensive character of Kashmir's mountain ranges.

THE CITY-PREFECT

The City-Prefect was known as *Nagaradhipa* in ancient Kashmir[147] Jonaraja, under Zain-ul-Abidin, refers to him as *Nagaradhikrta.*[148] One such official posted at the capital was Kanch Damara.[149] He seems to have combined the functions of both — a superintendent of police and a magistrate. The Persian equivalent of this designation, if at all it was in use then, is not mentioned.[150]

THE ROYAL MINT

The issue of a large number of gold, silver and copper coins by Zain-ul-Abidin testifies to the existence of the Royal Mint.

JAILS

There is no specific mention of the organisation of jails department under Zain-ul-Abidin. But the very fact that in his reign people were not given capital punishment for ordinary and, sometimes, even serious offences, and that they were chained and led to pursue their occupations,[151] speaks of the existence of a well-organised system of jails for housing the prisoners and harnessing their energies in constructive channels.

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

In view of the peculiar topographical conditions of the Valley of Kashmir and its outer hills together with the insurmountable difficulties of distance and communications, one uniform administrative pattern was not feasible in those early days. The two problems of administration and defence varied with each region, and necessitated the application of different political expedients. The whole kingdom was divided by Zain-ul-Abidin into four provinces with distinctly different organizational characteristics. The main Valley was bifurcated, as from very early times, into two traditional provinces referred to in Sanskrit chronicles as Kramarajya and Madavarajya,[152] and in Persian works as Kamraj and Maraj.[153]

MADAVARAJYA

Madavarajya was comprised of the territory on both sides of the upper part of the river Jehlam above Srinagar.[154] Madavarajya was a centrally-administered territory with its capital at Srinagar,[155] and was under the direct control of the Sultan and his Council of Ministers. Its administrative structure has already been detailed above. The capital city was under an officer called *Nagaradhikrta* or the City-Prefect.[156] He performed manifold duties. Besides maintaining law and order, he is stated to have even supervised the construction of a bridge.[157] One of the officials who occupied this post was Kanch Damara.[158]

KRAMARAJYA

The territory on the lower part of the river Jehlam below Srinagar constituted the province of Kramarajya[159] with its capital at Suyyapur[160] (modern Sopor). It was placed under a Viceroy or *Subadar*. Zain-ul-Abidin's eldest son, Adam Khan, held this post for five years.[161] Its administrative set-up was generally based on the central pattern. Being in close proximity of Madavarajya, the province of Kramarajya was subject to the direct influence of the Sultan. Zain-ul-Abidin is mentioned as undertaking frequent tours to various places in the Valley for ascertaining the condition of his people.[162] Except once, towards the closing years of his life, when the Sultan's senility enfeebled his grip over State matters, the provincial affairs went wrong. Adam Khan and his officials oppressed the people and it took sometime before matters could be set right under the central command.[163] The official who held the charge of Suyyapura was designated *Rastradhikarin*. He exercised both executive and military functions. Nattha Bhatta was one of the occupants of this office; he died fighting in his attempt to reinforce the royal forces in suppressing Adam Khan's rebellion against the Sultan.[164]

BAHYADESAVANIH OR THE OUTER PROVINCE

The whole of outer Kashmir comprising all the hill-states in the south and south-west including Rajauri and Punch as far as Naushahra was joined together into a province referred to as Bahyadesavanih[165] or the outer country. The viceroyalty of this province was successively held by Zain-ul-Abidin's second son, Haji Khan, and grandson, Hasan Khan.[166]

FRONTIER PROVINCE OF NAUSHAHRA

To the south of Rajauri lay Naushahra which was annexed and converted into a separate province and was placed under the charge of a trusted and capable military commander Miran Sayyid Nasir.[167] Shortly after he was poisoned to death and was succeeded by one of his able sons, Mirak Sayyid Hasan.[168]

The appointment to the viceroyalty of a province was the exclusive privilege of a prince of the royal blood. The only departure made was in the case of Naushahra when the *Sayyids* were successively appointed to the exalted office. The deviation was, however, a partial one, for these *Sayyids* were related to the Sultan through his chief queen who was the daughter of the *Sayyid* family.[169] The outer and frontier provinces, being separated from the Valley by a difficult and rugged terrain, enjoyed a large measure of autonomy.[170] Their continuance with the Valley depended much on the loyalty of the Viceroys. While the *Sayyid* Viceroys of Naushahra gave unflinching loyalty to the Sultan, his own son, Haji Khàn, rose in revolt to seize power from his father, but was promptly suppressed.[171] Though completely autonomous, they received military re-inforcements in times of emergency. Assistance was rushed to Naushahra when the turbulent gangs of the *Kokal Tash* tribe created trouble in the province.[172]

No details are available about the city administration in general. However, on the analogy of Srinagar and Suyyapura we may assume that every major city was under the charge of an official designated *Nagaradhikrta* or *Rastradhikarin* who combined the functions of a modern magistrate and a superintendent of police. While further details regarding the outer and frontier provinces are lacking, the two internal provinces of Madavarâjya and Kramarajya were subdivided into a large number of smaller administrative units called *Visayas*[173] (*Parganas*). Their exact number in Zain-ul-Abidin's time is not known, for it varied from time to time in accordance with administrative expediency and fiscal requirements.[174] Ksemendra places their number at twentyseven[175] which possibly denotes the number as it existed prior to Zain-ul-Abidin's reign. Names of nineteen *Visayas* are mentioned but they have been corrupted to such an extent that most of them defy identification. In the time of Zain-ul-Abidin's great-grandson, Muhammad Shah, the number was twentyseven,[176] and a little later under Mirza Haidar Dughlat it had risen to thirty.[177] We can thus safely conclude that notwithstanding Zain-ul-Abidin's administrative reorganisation and the creation of new *Visayas* like Zainagiri, the number remained at twentyseven as it had existed before and was to exist after him. We learn from an inscription that the officer-in-charge of *Visaya* was called *Desadhipati*.[178] Each *Pargana* had a number of villages. A village was regarded as the smallest administrative unit and its administration was based on the principle of collective responsibility. The people of the village were held responsible for any theft or robbery committed in their locality. A punitive tax was imposed on them to raise money for compensation to the afflicted.[179] The owners of forests were also subjected to similar penal clauses.[180] These regulations proved so effective that the highway robberies and thefts disappeared from the land and the people slept as much at ease in forests as in their houses.[181]

REFERENCES

1. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 387.
2. For his conquests see Saxena, *Political History of Kashmir*, Chapter 4.
3. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 105, 124. Al-Idrisi, a great Arab geographer of the 12th century A.D., also speaksof the "Outer Qashmir" which, according to Maqbul Ahmad, denotes the regions to the south, south-east and west of Kashmir: (*India and the Neighbouring Territories in the 'Kitab Nuzhat Al-Mushtaq Fi' Khtiraq Al-Afaq*, p. 100).
4. Vide Chapter III, pp. 51-53
5. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 49-51.
6. Ibid., iii, Stt. 40-41.
7. See, for the Delhi Sultans as coming from the lands of orthodoxy, Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate af Dehli*, p. 27.
8. Vide Chapter I, pp. 6-7.
9. Tuzuk., II, p. 181.
10. Firishta, p. 453.
11. Sayyid Ali, f. 5a; Abdul Wahhab, *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya*, ff. 147a-b.
12. Sayyid Ali, f. 5a.
13. Sufi, *Kashir* II, p. 146.
14. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.
15. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 80.
16. Ibid., Stt. 837, 922.

17. Srivara, I, ii, St. 28, iii. Stt. 26-28, v, Stt. 95-96.
18. Ibid., 1, vii, St. 171 ; Nizamuddin, p. 657 ; Haidar Malik, p. 45.
19. Jonaraja, Stt. 935, 973 ; Srivara, 1, v, St. 140.
20. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 89. 21. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 156.
22. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 164-65. 23. Ibid., p. 165.
24. Ibid., 1, i, Stt. 38-39.
25. *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (Islamic Culture), Vol. 15, p. 451.
26. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 227.
27. Jonaraja, St. 973. 28. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 167.
29. Vide Chapters VI and VIII.
30. Srivara, (Dutt), pp. 163-64.
31. Ibid., p. 171.
32. J.A.S.B., Vol. XLVIII, (1879), p 284.
33. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, (Eng. tr.), *Muslim Institutions*, p. 111.
34. *Munich MS*., f. 70a. 35. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
36. Jonaraja, Stt. 853-54. 37. Srivara, 1, i, St. 101.
38. Ibid., 1, vii, Stt. 66, 110, 185, 234.
39. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 159 and note.
40. Firishta, p. 453.
41. Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 129, 142, 161.
42. Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia*, p. 39.
43. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Chapter VIII.
44. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 51.
45. Jonaraja, St. 753, 760 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 105.
46 Srivara, 1, vii, St. 222.
47. Jonaraja, St. 746 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 159.
48. Jonaraja, St. 948. 49. Srivara, 1, v, St. 34.
50. Ibid., 1, i, St. 92. 51. Ibid., 1, iii, St. 44, v, St. 10.
52. Ibid., 1, i, St. 160. Mohibbul Hasan is not correct in supposing that the Chariot had no significance during the Sultanate period : (p. 197).
53. Richard Temple, *The Word of Lalla*. p. 211.
54. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 199. 55. Ibid., St. 121.
56. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 105-106. 57. See Chapter VIII.
58. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 128, 151, vii, Stt. 202, 206. The ordinary meaning of the Sanskrit word "*pratihara*" is the "door-keeper".
59. Kalhana, I, iv, 142-43. For a detailed account of the eighth-century Kashmir king, Lalitaditya, see Saxena, *op. cit*., Chapter 4.
60. Srivara, 1, i, St. 128.
61. Ibid , v, St. 7, vii. St. 128.
62. Ibid., i, St. 151, vii, Stt. 202, 206.
63. Ibid., i, Stt. 88, 92. 64. Ibid., St. 92.
65. Ibid., vii, St. 191. 66. Ibid., Stt. 199-201.
67. Jonaraja, St. 826. 68. Srivara 1, i, St. 142.

69. Jonaraja, St. 827. 70. Haidar Malik, p. 45.
71. Their accounts are the best sources for the period of Zain-ul-Abidin.
72. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 166. 73. Jonaraja, St. 216.
74. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 59, 152. 75. Ibid., Stt. 45, 59, 152.
76. Ibid., St. 152. 77. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 104.
78. Ibid., 1, vii, Stt. 147, 152, 263.
79. Jonaraja, Stt. 890-96 ; Nizamuddin, p. 660 ; Firishta, pp. 470-71.
80. Jonaraja, St. 973. 81. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.
82. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 223. 83. Ibid., St. 179.
84. Haidar Malik, p. 47. Fath Shah ruled Kashmir as many as three times, 1486-93, 1504-14, 1515-17 A.D. : (Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 110, 113, 116).
85. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 63.
86. *Ain.*, II, p. 383 ; Nizamuddin, p. 657.
87. For details see the accounts of Queen Didda (Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, pp 55-58), Queen Kota Devi (Parmu, pp. 78-88), and the queens of Sultan Shihab-ud-din and Sultan Qutb-ud-din : (Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 53-59).
88. Mohibbul Hasan,p. 261.
89. Jonaraja, St. 958. 90. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 52.
91. Ibid., St. 84.
92. Ibid., Stt. 99-100 and Dutt's tr., pp. 162-63.
93. Ibid., Stt. 119-126.
94. Jonaraja, St. 958 ; Nizamuddin, p. 656.
95. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 52-53. Dutt's translation wrongly has Darpavahana for Darya Khan : (p. 157).
96. Ibid. 97. Jonaraja, Stt. 11, 824, 970.
98. Ibid., St. 962.
99. Stein, *R.T.*, I, vi, 199n ; Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.
100. The existence of this office is mentioned in the time of Rinchana, Jamshed and Sikandar : (Nizamuddin, pp 634, 639, 645).
101. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 78. 102. Nizamuddin, p. 660.
103. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 76. 104. Ibid.
105. *Baharistan.*, p. 31. 106. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
107. Muin-ud-din Miskin, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 289. Bulbul Shah was a *Sufi* at whose hands Rinchana is stated to have accepted Islam : (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 39).
108. For details see Jonaraja, Stt. 841-55.
109. Haidar Malik, p. 47. 110. *Baharistan.*, p. 31.
111. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91
112. Kalhana, I, iv, 588 ; Singh, *R.T.*, p. 9, 11n.
113. Jonaraja, St. 11. 114. Ibid., St. 970, (Bo. ed), St. 1073.
115. Ibid., Stt. 1073 Sqq,

116. Ray, *op. cit* , p. 132. 117. Jonaraja, St. 823.

118. *Narmamala*, I, 32, 50. 119. Jonaraja, St. 824.

120. Ibid., St. 823. Mistaking it to be an ordinary Sanskrit word, Dutt translates "*Mahattamapada*," to which Tilakacharya was appointed, as "the highest position" instead of "the office of *Mahattama*" : (p. 83). This has misled the modern historians who have relied on this defective translation into believing that Tilakacharya was the *Wazir* of Zain-ul-Abidin (Parmu, p. 400) or a counsellor who stood high in the Sultan's favour : (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 88).

121. *Munich* MS., f. 66a.

122. Haidar Malik, *MS* (*I.O.*). f. 189b. Yusuf Shah Chak ruled Kashmir twice : (1578-1579, 1580-1586 A.D.).

123. Stein, *R.T.*, I, v, 177n. 124. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 200.

125. Ibid., Stt. 196, 200 ; Nizamuddin, p. 671.

126. Jonaraja, St. 128. 127. Ibid., St. 824.

128. Stein, *R.T.*, I, v, 301n. 129. Jonaraja, St. 824.

130. Ibid., Stt. 945 Sqq. 131. Ibid., Stt. 947-950.

132. Sarivara, 1, i, St. 36.

133. Haidar Malik, *MS* (*I.O.*), f. 121b.

134. Srivara, 1, i, St. 36. 135. Ibid., v, Stt. 82 Sqq.

136. Jonaraja, Stt. 801, 882. 137. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 35.

138. Ibid. ; Jonaraja, St. 806. *Bhurja* is the inner bark of the Himalayan birch.

139. *Baharistan.*, pp. 44-45 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 15a.

140. Mohibbul Hasan incorrectly refers to Stein (*R.T.*, I, vii, 508) for the use of paper along with birch during Zain-ul-Abidin's reign : (p. 205 and 3n).

141. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 34.

142. Mohibbul Hasan takes for granted the existence of a record office at Srinagar : (p. 205). Parmu wrongly takes it to be a Central Record Office : (p. 149).

143. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 391. Under the Hindu rulers, "the Lord of the Pass or Gate" variously designated as *dvarapati*, *dvaradhipa*, etc., was a superior officer in rank exercising control over the passes through subordinate officers : (See for details Stein, *R.T.*, I, v, 214n).

144. Jonaraja, St. 969. Under Sultan Ali Shah instructions were issued to the Lords of the Passes not to allow anybody's exit except on a permit to prevent the escape of the *Brahmanas* from religious persecutions : (Jonaraja, Stt. 655-56).

145. Stein, *R.T.*, I, v, 214n and II, viii, 422.

146. *Ain.*, I, p. 412.

147. Stein, *R.T.*, I, vi, 70n ; Ksemendra, *Lokaprakasa*, BK. IV, p. 59.

148. Jonaraja, St. 887. 149. Ibid.

150. Mohibbul Hasan designates it as *Kotwal* without referring to any source : (pp. 204-205).

151. Jonaraja, St. 952 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 38.
152. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 436.
153. *Ain.*, II, p. 367 ; *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 143 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 53.
154. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 436 ; *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 143.
155. It was later shifted to Zainanagari, the new capital city, constructed at a short distance from Srinagar : (Jonaraja, St. 869 ; Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 4-7.
156. Jonaraja, St. 887. 157. Ibid.
158. Ibid.
159. *Tuzuk.*, II, p 143 ; Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 436.
160. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 34-35.
161. Ibid., ii, St. 5
162. Hasan, f. 122a ; Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 26 Sqq.
163. Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 65-77, 81, 84, 86.
164. Ibid., Stt. 91-92. 165. Ibid., i, St. 124.
166. Ibid., St. 82, vii, St. 78 ; Firishta, p. 471 ; Nizamuddin, p. 663.
167. *Baharistan.*, p. 40. 168. Ibid., pp. 40-43.
169. Ibid., pp. 25-26, 31. 170. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 105-106.
171. Ibid., Stt. 107 Sqq. 172. *Baharistan.*, pp. 43-44.
173. Jonaraja, St. 889. 1 4. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 437.
175. *Lokaprakasa*, IV, p. 60.
176. Srivara, (Bo. ed.), 1, iv, St. 570.
177. Baba Nasib, *Tazkirai-i-Masha'ikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 513b.
178. Stone Slab Inscription in Sarada characters discovered at Khonamuh about 9 miles to the S.E. of Srinagar.
179. Jonaraja, St. 818 ; Nizamuddin, p. 653.
180. Jonaraja, St. 818.
181. Srivara, 1, i, St. 41 ; Nizamuddin, p. 653.

CHAPTER VI

REFORMS AND PUBLIC WORKS

Like Asoka, Zain-ul-Abidin ruled for an ideal and whatever he did was the outcome of his unrestrained love for and sense of duty to his people. A man of vision and instinctive understanding, the Sultan has the rightful claim to be called the father of his people. The keynote of his State policy was social welfare carried to a degree rarely conceived by rulers. And to this ideal he stuck with extraordinary devotion and courage of conviction till the end of his life. It is strikingly revealed in his schemes of reforms and works of public utility which engaged his attention to a degree unprecedented in the annals of Kashmir and which form a distinguishing feature of his government. Zain-ul-Abidin's was a constructive genius of a very high order and when his aesthetic sense, eclecticism, and sense of duty marched together, the spectacle was a remarkable one of all-round progress and exquisite beautification of the kingdom. He touched nothing that he did not adorn. Every aspect of his governmental activity relating to army, judiciary, revenue, agriculture, and socio-economic life received freshness and vigour and the whole kingdom was elegantly dotted with monumental works of beauty and public utility.

MILITARY REORGANISATION AND REFORMS

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was not a pronounced imperialist, yet the reorganisation of the army engaged his careful attention. A zealous guardian of his country's territorial integrity and national honour, he was chiefly motivated in this task by the defence needs of his kingdom. The military set-up which he reconstructed was neither based on a feudal pattern nor was a completely centralised one ; it was a combination of both. Kashmir's defence potential comprised State armies, central and provincial, garrisoned forts and watch-stations, and feudal contributions in times of war.

THE STATE ARMIES

The King's Army

The Sultan maintained a standing army at government expense in each of the State and of provincial capitals.[1] It was chiefly drawn from the clans of *Rajputs*[2], *Khasas*,[3] *Thakurs*,[4] *Sayyids*, *Rainas* and *Magres*.[5] Once the mainstay of the Kashmir army,[6] the *Chaks* had fallen from Zain-ul-Abidin's favour for their persistence in lawless activities.[7] The mode of payment to the soldiers is not recorded but the officers were given *jagirs* in lieu of salaries. When an officer rendered some distinguished military service, he was rewarded with the enlargement of his *jagir*.[8] Like Sultan Firuz Tughluq of Delhi, Zain-ul-Abidin recognised the principle of hereditary succession in army at the higher level. But while the Delhi potentate carried it to a point of absurdity by allowing even an officer's wife to succeed in the absence of recognised male relatives,[9] Zain-ul-Abidin confined his choice only to the deceased officer's son.[10] It is, however, difficult to believe that such a privilege could be extended even to an incompetent son, for Zain-ul-Abidin regarded merit above other things.[11] An instance may be cited : Malik Autar Chand, Zain-ul-Abidin's Commander-in-chief, who succeeded his father Malik Daulat Chand, was an able commander and showed conspicuous bravery in his triumphant campaign against the Kashghar forces in Ladakh.[12]

The King's Army stationed at the new capital city of Naushahr was composed of five main divisions, namely — cavalry, infantry, elephant and camel corps, chariots, and artillery.

Cavalry

The cavalry was the most important division of the King's Army. Its importance can be measured from the fact that the capture of the Royal Stable by Haji Khan finally dicided the war of succession in his favour at the time of Zain-ul-Abidin's death.[13] The total strength of cavalry is not known but its number must have been fairly large, for the Sultan is stated to have employed as many as 20,000 horsemen in the battle of Sheh.[14] Kashmir has never been the land of good horses. Jahangir speaks of them as low in size, vicious, hard-mouthed with thick-shoulders.[15] The deficiency was, however, made good by the Iraqi, Turki, Arab, and Indian horses of good breed which largely came in Zain-ul-Abidin's time as gifts from friendly rulers.[16]

Infantry

The Sultan also maintained a considerably large infantry. In a single battle of Sheh one lakh foot soldiers had participated.[17]

Elephant and Camel Corps

Kashmir has never been the home of camels and elephants ; the beasts mentioned in the chronicles were brought from outside. There came Bactrian camels and dromedaries, an Arab variety, from Khurasan.[18] The elephants obviously came from the eastern parts of India[19] and constituted an important wing of the King's Army.[20] They must have been very useful for transporting military supplies as well.

Chariots

The chariots also formed an important wing of the King's Army. We know from Srivara's account of the significant role the chariots played in the battle of Mallasila for suppressing the rebellion of Haji Khan.[21]

Artillery

Srivara, the court-chronicler of Zain-ul-Abidin, credits his master with the introduction of the use of artillery in Kashmir. He mentions its use in crude form for the first time in the battle of Mallasila.[22] The artillery was sought to be further developed. Mechanics were employed who successfully manufactured cannons of different kinds of hard metals.[23] The chief expert was Habib whom Nizamuddin mentions as the first to manufacture muskets in Kashmir, and as one who had no rival in his art.[24] The Sultan was himself so well-versed in the art that he composed in concert with Habib a treatise on the manufacture of fire-arms and gunpowder for the guidance of others.[25] It was a work of great value[26] which, unfortunately, is not extant now. The employment of cannon using gunpowder has, however, been summarily dismissed by a modern authority on Kashmir history as the product of Srivara's poetic imagination.[27] But it is a negation of contemporary evidence, for Srivara tells us that he wrote under Zain-ul-Abidin's order a few lines in praise of the new weapon, to be inscribed on the body of the cannon[28] These lines graphically conform to what we know of the weapon today. The inscription runs thus :

"In the year 41, in the *Saka* year 1586 (1465 A.D.) the king Shri Jainollabhadina, renowned like the lord of heaven (Indra), the victorious, the ruler of Kashmir, constructed this weapon which is well known to the world and is spoken of in the *mausulu* (Muslim) language. It destroys forts, pierces the hearts of men, strikes horses with terror, throws arrows (balls) of stone from a distance, and remains unseen by the soldiers from encampments, strong, well regulated, of deep sound, and of great value ;—such was the engine constructed by the mechanics. The engine will be useful to the king like a new town. May it be useful by the large quantity of the different metals of which it is composed, and by its frame, by its sound and by its power of expansion."[29]

We know from Persian sources that artillery using gunpowder was employed in wars by contemporary Indian and foreign rulers.[30] And to a king like Zain-ul-Abidin, who had extensive diplomatic and friendly contacts, and with whom collection of novelties of all kinds was an insatiable passion, nothing could have denied the expertise of the new device. Zain-ul-Abidin was thus undoubtedly in possession of cannons and fire-arms.[31]

THE PROVINCIAL ARMIES

The provincial armies were generally based on the model of the king's standing army, and comprised only two wings, the infantry and the cavalry.[32] The maintenance of artillery, camel and elephant corps, and chariots was the exclusive privilege of the Sultan, and for that reason we do not hear of their use by provincial governors in any of the military operations they carried. They were stationed at the provincial capitals. Military detachments were also posted in forts which sparsely dotted the Valley of Kashmir,[33] and formed a vital link in the system of internal defence against rebellions and disturbances. A fort in Madavarajya, for example, was instrumental in bringing about the final collapse of Haji Khan's rebellion against his father.[34]

TROOPS AT WATCH-STATIONS

Bodies of troops were also posted at every watch-station called *dranga* having a small strategically situated fort.[35] Placed under a commander who was generally a neighbouring feudal lord, a frontier station guarded every pass leading into the Valley. On the fighting efficiency of these troops depended the defence of the kingdom against external aggression.[36] *Margesa*, as the commander was designated, was directly responsible to the king.[37]

FEUDAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Srivara speaks of a number of feudal chiefs owing allegiance to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. They maintained retainers consisting of foot soldiers and horsemen, and were entrusted with both military and administrative duties in their respective areas. They were also expected to contribute military contingents to the Sultan in times of war. Bandarpala was one of such chiefs mentioned by Srivara.[38]

METHODS OF WARFARE

The usual division of the army into three wings, the right, the left, and the centre, was followed under Zain-ul-Abidin also. In the famous battle of Sheh, the right and left wings of the Kashmir army had struck at the left wing and the centre of the Kashghar forces respectively. It was customary to wage war from sunrise to sunset. After a complete night-rest, the battle was resumed the next morning with all ferocity.[39] Zain-ul-Abidin never led an attack against a recalcitrant feudatory or an external enemy personally. He, no doubt, sometimes accompanied his armed forces but took care to stay at a safe distance when the battle was on, and he remained constantly informed about the progress of his army.[40] However, at times, the Sultan himself took the command when a rebellion by any one of his sons was to be dealt with.[41] There is no reference to the guerilla tactics employed by the State armies. These were, however, used by the internal disturbers of peace like the *Chaks* who caused considerable damage to government property before they could be finally subdued.[42] Zain-ul-Abidin was wise in the choice of men for higher military posts. His army included an illustrious band of able and brave commanders, namely, Muhammad Magre, Malik Masud Thakur, Helmet Raina, Ahmad Raina, Mirak Sayyid Hasan[43], Malik Daulat Chand, Malik Autar Chand, Hasan Thakur,[44] Husain Thakur, Svarna Seha and Ganga.[45]

WEAPONS OF WAR AND OTHER ACCESSORIES

The main weapons of war in vogue of which we have evidence in Zain-ul-Abidin's time were sword,[46] bow and arrow, lance, dagger,[47] artillery, and musket. There is no reference to the type of uniform the soldiers wore except that they put on some sort of defensive armour.[48] The princes were, however, clad in iron mail when engaged in fighting. We have also reference to the horses being armoured when thrown into the battle-field.[49] Besides the use of weapons, there were other accessories associated with war, like the playing of bands and the fluttering of flags or standards. Band was played in accompaniment with the triumphal march of the Sultan's army as, for example, after his victories in the battles of Thanna and Mallasila[50] It included instruments like drum, kettledrum, trumpet, etc. As a traditional symbol of army, flags were carried by soldiers at the time of war.[51] It was obviously done to distinguish the imperial soldiers from the enemy.

JUDICIAL REORGANISATION AND REFORMS

When religious persecution forms part of the official code, the sanctified principle of judicial impartiality in a state loses its efficacy and justice becomes discriminatory. This is remarkably illustrated by the reigns of Zain-ul-Abidin's two immediate predecessors, Sikandar and Ali Shah. The condition was, however, much worse in Ali Shah's time. There was complete judicial chaos. Molestation of women and grabbing of government and private property were the order of the day.[52] Criminals often escaped unpunished, and innocent people were victimised. Highway robbery was common. Punishments when inflicted were unduly harsh Bribery and corruption were rampant, and even the judges were no exception. The sufferers were, for the most part, non-Muslims. They lived in a perpetual state of terror, for fanatic groups of Muslims were favourably placed to harass them.[53] The non-Muslims could hardly be expected under the circumstances to repose confidence in the government and its judicial set-up.[54] It was at this crucial juncture that Zain-ul-Abidin was called upon to take remedial measures with a view to restoring the rule of law and the shattered morale of his non-Muslim subjects.

Zain-ul-Abidin had a highly developed sense of justice and considered it to be his paramount duty to dispense justice personally. He had "established a code of laws which were engraved on copper-plates, and placed in all the public markets and halls of justice."[55] His judicial system, though remarkable for its spirit of humanity, enforced law with great strictness and impartiality. We have the testimony of his court-chronicler that he spared none who was found guilty—whether he be his son, a minister, or a friend. The Sultan made a determined effort to root out corruption. It had become for long a universal practice with the judges to accept illegal gratifications from both parties in a dispute. The Sultan put a complete ban on this practice.[56] A judge named Maulana Ishaq was guilty of receiving bribes for undue favours granted to people. The matter was brought to the notice of the Sultan by the litigants themselves, and he caused the amount to be returned to them in cash.[57] One of the judges, Mir Thakur, a man of merit, misused his position, amassed wealth, and caused embarrassment to the Sultan. Though the king's fostar-brother and a favourite, Mir was banished from Kashmir to live a life of misery for five years in Kishtwar and Chibh (Bhimbhar), longing to return to his country and to recover his wealth.[58] The Sultan kept a strict watch over his officials through the intelligence department which he organised with efficiency.[59]

Organisation

Paucity of material restricts us from forming an accurate idea about the organisation and location of the law courts. We have some references to their existence in the provincial division of Kramarajya[60] and to the discharge of judicial functions by judges in other parts of the kingdom.[61] The high office of the *Qazi* first created by Sultan Sikandar[62] existed in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin. One of its incumbents was Qazi Jamal.[63] Another name mentioned is Qazi Sayyid Ullah Shirazi, an immigrant Muslim from Persia [64] The *Qazi* was the Chief Justice sitting on the high seat of judgment.[65] Jonaraja also speaks of Gananapati Gaurak, a Hindu, as *Pradvivak*,[66] i.e., the Chief Justice. It is not clear in what relationship the Qazi, the *Pradvivak*, and other judges stood with each other. The judges were men of merit and integrity. Gaurak decided cases with wisdom and justice.[67] Shirya Bhatta was a high functionary dedicated to the cause of justice.[68] There was no official organisation at the village level. The Sultan introduced the principle of collective responsibility and held the chief men of the village responsible for any crime committed in the vicinity.[69]

We are, however, placed in a comparatively much better position with regard to the organisation and working of the King's Court. It was the highest court in the land, presided over by the Sultan trying civil and criminal cases. It was both the court of appeal and the court of first instance.[70] As the highest court, its jurisdiction extended to the whole of Kashmir. It was composed of men belonging to different religions required to interpret the personal law of each individual according to his religion. Tilakacharya, a Buddhist, Shirya Bhatta, a *Brahmana*, and Darya Khan, a Muslim, were among the most influential ministers who, as members of the King's Court as well, assisted the Sultan in deciding law cases. Besides this, Shirya Bhatta was the head of the department of judiciary, and looked after the administrative details of all courts, including the King's Court.[71]

There was nothing fixed about the nature of cases to be referred to this court. It is, indeed, surprising to find even petty cases, such as the theft of cattle, in the list of cases decided by the highest court of the land in the first instance.[72] This can perhaps be explained in terms of the Sultan's eagerness to show goodwill to the Hindus for psychological reasons, for in each case the animal involved was a cow, considered sacred by the Hindus, and the owner, a *Brahmana*, held in much respect by the Hindus. It draws further strength from the fact that the *Brahmanas* in general received great favours of all kinds from the Sultan. These cases thus formed an exception rather than the rule, for all other cases which we come across relate to either murder, treason, or a serious fraud.

Procedure and Evidence

There are only a few indirect references to the procedure and evidence which governed the proceedings of the King's Court; as regards the other courts, nothing is known. There was no particular day fixed for hearing. The Sultan was accessible to the rich and the poor alike on all days. No long waiting is reported. A case could be brought before the court for hearing even on the day next to its occurrence.[73] There were no lawyers to assist the litigants. The parties concerned were allowed to present and argue their own cases.[74] The Sultan consulted the members of his court before giving his decision.[75] In important cases, he invited the opinion of the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and other doctors of religion or law. But he did not consider himself bound to accept it, as, for instance, in Sayyid Ullah's case[76] The Sultan consulted technical experts as well. Jonaraja relates his own case. His grandfather, Lolaraja, owned ten plots of land of which he sold one. The sale was duly authenticated in writing by a sale deed. After Lolaraja's death, his son Nonaraja, the father of Jonaraja, and other members of the family, were dispossessed of the remaining nine plots by the sheer strength and influence of persons who had purchased the first plot. While keeping the plots under their illegal occupation, they forged entries in the document to bear evidence to the sale of all the ten plots. Jonaraja brought the case before the King's Court. An expert was associated, and the documentary material, when subjected to test, was found to be forged. The culprits were given severe punishment.[77] No hard and fast rules governed the law of evidence and the examination of witnesses. Both oral and documantry evidences were permissible. No difference is reported between the evidence of believers and non-believers, or between men and women, as is recognised under the Islamic law. No such question arose when two women were involved in a murder case. They were allowed to present their own cases. The facts of the case are that a woman, prompted by a desire to punish her maid-servant against whom she bore a grudge, killed one of her own children and threw the dead body into the servant's house. The mistress then petitioned for justice to the King's Court. The accused was threatened. But how could she confess the guilt which she had never committed ? Thereupon, the Sultan asked her to walk down naked to her house in the presence of men to prove her innocence. She refused to undergo this shameful ordeal. But when asked, the mistress agreed to do so. The trick worked. She was whipped and the confession was not long in coming.[78]

Punishments

The Sultan was opposed to the infliction of harsh and brutal punishments upon the offenders against law. He had considered the question of punishments purely from the point of view of a criminologist. Not a single case is reported in the chronicles in which any criminal was punished by the mutilation of limbs for his offence. It is remarkable for an age in which the punishment generally included "mutilation of hands, feet, ear and nose, plucking out of the eyes, pouring molten lead down the throats of the people, hammering the bones of hands and feet to fragments, roasting alive in fire, driving nails into hands, feet and chest, flaying alive, battering with spiked rod," and "sawing a body into halves and other forms of mutilation".[79] The Sultan never put any thief or a robber to death. He was of the opinion that a man took to stealing only when he had no means of livelihood. He considered it to be the duty of the State to provide such men with the necessary means of subsistence. Thieves and robbers were arrested and put in chains to work on land and public buildings to earn their livelihood by hard work.[80] *Dombas* were a tribe of low caste men.[81] Some of them were ngaged in the work of cremating the Hindus after death.[82] They were rendered unemployed when Sultan Sikandar banned the burning of the dead. When the practice was revived under Zain-ul-Abidin, no one was available for the job for they, as a class, had taken to stealing. They were fettered and were obliged to pursue their ancient profession.[83] Flogging was resorted to not as a form of punishment but to extort confession.[84] He inflicted capital punishment only in cases of high treason and murder. For a treasonous act of less serious nature the punishment was exile with or without the confiscation of property. Mir Thakur was exiled for five years for his rebellious conduct.[85] Nasrat was a favourite of the Sultan. He showed a recalcitrant attitude, and was sent into exile. As an act of kindness, the king did not order the confiscation of his wealth and property.[86] However, in serious cases of treason against the king, death sentence was pronounced. Death was the penalty for a murder also. One Mir Qaisar killed his innocent wife in a state of drunkenness. Though the king's favourite, he was executed under the Sultan's order.[87] The Sultan recognised the personal right of vengeance of the victim, if wounded, or of his authorised representative, if killed. The right of retaliation or blood-vengeance called *qisas* was permitted by the Islamic law under certain conditions.[88] A case of *qisas* is reported in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. Masud Thakur and Sher Thakur were the Sultan's foster-brothers, whom he greatly favoured and appointed to high offices. Once they quarrelled with each other, and in a fit of rage Sher killed his elder brother Masud. One of their relations, Vinna Thakur petitioned the Sultan for the right of vengeance which the latter granted. Vinna killed Sher.[89] No case of *diya* is, however, recorded. It is a pecuniary indemnity varying with "the gravity of the circumstances surrounding the crime."[90] In one of the cases of murder, the Sultan prescribed the punishment of *tash-hir* or public humiliation. Sayyid Ullah, a learned and holy man from Mecca, was greatly favoured by the Sultan. There was a *Yogi* whom the king also held in high esteem, believing him to have blessed him with the birth of his first son. Driven by jealousy, the Sayyid killed the *Yogi* in a state of intoxication. The case came up for hearing before the King's Court. The legal experts including the *Shaikh-ul-*

Islam recommended capital punishment. But the Sultan preferred to humiliate him publicly. Sayyid Ullah was seated on an ass with his face towards its tail, his head clean-shaved, his beard soaked with urine, and his hands tied up with the entrails of a dead man. He was paraded in this manner through the market place, and the people who gathered for fun spat on him.[91] This is the only case of its type which we come across in Zain-ul-Abidin's reign, — a case in which a Muslim murdered a Hindu and yet escaped the death penalty even against the considered opinion of the experts.[92] It will, however, not be proper to conclude on the basis of a solitary example that the Sultan did not favour the infliction of death sentence on a Muslim for killing a Hindu. A modern historian has sought to explain it on the ground that the murder was committed in a state of drunkenness.[93] But this can hardly be accepted in view of the earlier precedent when Mir Qaisar was executed for killing his wife under intoxication. This exception can perhaps be explained only in terms of the sanctity attached to a man coming from Mecca, the holiest of the Islamic places, just after the fashion of the Hindu kings who would never capitally punish a *Brahmana* for any offence.

FISCAL MEASURES AND REFORMS

Zain-ul-Abidin's benevolence found its expression in his policy of taxation as well. It was based on the twin principles of moderation and leniency. He is, in fact, credited with the abolition as well as the reduction of certain oppressive exactions imposed under his immediate predecessors.[95] He aimed at levying taxes on the prosperous sections of society to ameliorate the condition of his poor subjects.[96] In spite of his policy of moderate taxation and unrestrained expenditure on works of public utility and relief, the contemporary writers speak of the existence of enormous riches and a vast treasury in his kingdom.[97] This leads to the irresistible conclusion that the heads of income, though few in his time, were thoroughly streamlined and mobilised through a team of efficient officers. The Sultan was generous, and references to tax concessions in times of natural calamities highlight his consideration for his people's welfare.[98]

Not many details are available about the various heads of taxation in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin. His fiscal system, however, can be discussed under two heads: (1) Land revenue, and (2) Other Sources.

LAND REVENUE

Writing about seventy-five years after the death of Zain-ul-Abidin, Mirza Haidar Dughlat[99] classified all the land in the Valley of Kashmir into four kinds: (*i*) artificially irrigated land; (*ii*) naturally irrigated land; (*iii*) gardens; and (*iv*) level land, which was unfit for cultivation on account of the excessive moisture. This classification was rendered possible only after the completion of a large net-work of canals for artificial irrigation by Zain-ul-Abidin, and applies as much to his own time as to that of Mirza Haidar Dughlat.

The *Kharaj* or the land revenue formed the chief item of the kingdom's financial resources. Zain-ul-Abidin, as such, took special measures for the promotion of agriculture. Unfortunately, no chronicler mentions the normal rate of assessment of land revenue in his time. Sultan Shams-ud-din had fixed it at the low rate of one-sixth of the produce' as a special measure to repair the ruin caused by Dulacha's invasion.[100] According to Abul Fazl, the State share had been one-third for a long time during the Sultanate period.[101] This may safely be taken to cover the period of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign as well. But in conditions other than normal, the Sultan gave substantial tax concessions. For example, in the newly-reclaimed area in the *Pargana* of Zainagiri which needed further improvement, he fixed the rate at one-seventh. He caused this rate of assessment to be inscribed on a copper plate even for the guidance of his successors.[102] At a time when a severe famine ravaged Kashmir, the Sultan reduced the land revenue to one-fourth, and even to one-seventh, in certain areas[103] which have not been specified. Orchards appear to have been totally exempted from taxation.[104]

The ownership of land vested in the peasant. That Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin recognised the proprietary right of the tiller in the soil is unmistakably reflected in the private transactions of the sale and purchase of land during his reign.[105] The peasant could thus sell his land to any one he liked. The sale of land was duly recorded on *bhurja* leaves, and maintained in the Registration Office, to prevent subsequent frauds and denials.[106] Some land did actually belong to the king. The newly-reclaimed area in the Zainagiri *Pargana* was the personal estate of the

Sultan.[107] He had also acquired some land for his private farm in Ladakh after its complete subjugation.[108]

The *jagir* system was in existence and there are numerous references to the distribution of *jagirs* either free to men of merit as a mark of honour,[109] or in recognition of services[110] or in lieu of salaries to officials.[111] The assignment or the transfer of a *jagir* did not make any difference in the legal status of a peasant. It implied only the transfer of that part of revenue to the new *jagirdar* which the government fixed, to be realised from the cultivator in return for the services rendered for him.[112] This is amply suggested by the conspicuous absence of any reference to the transfer of land from one peasant to the other along with the *jagirdar* except in cases of actual sale.

Regarding the methods of assessment and mode of payment of land revenue, we have only a meagre evidence at our disposal. The only method of assessment to which references are available was based on the measurement of land. This method was also known in ancient India.[113] The land was measured[114] and its produce ascertained.[115] It is not clear whether its calculation was made on the basis of the average produce of the few previous years, or whether some other method was adopted. The revenue, however, was charged on the total produce of the land.[116] For the benefit of peasants, the Sultan somewhat increased the length of the *Jarib*.[117] Details are, however, not mentioned. The payment of revenue in cash was not "the custom of Kashmir."[118] It was collected in kind in ancient times and the practice continued till about the end of the last century.[119] The payment of land revenue was estimated and made in *kharwars* of rice.[120]

Other Sources

Besides the land revenue, which formed the bulk of the State's financial resources, there is evidence of a number of other sources of income under Zain-ul-Abidin. Mines were worked from which precious stones were dug out, and certain special varieties of jewels were named "*Jainamani*" after the king's name.[121] Copper mines were discovered from which copper was extracted to be used for coining money.[122] There is also a reference to the sandy banks of rivers from which gold particles were procured by washing.[123] No such river is mentioned by name, but we know from the records of other periods that gold was secured by washing from the banks of the river Kishanganga and its tributaries.[124] While mining was a government undertaking, gold-washing was done by private individuals, and the State share was realised at the rate of one-sixth of the produce. Zain-ul-Abidin, in fact, caused an order to be inscribed on a copper plate advising his successors to continue the levy of the tax at the same rate.[125] The expenditure on the king's household was met from the produce of copper mines.[126] Income from the royal estates[127] supplemented the Privy Purse. The spoils of war[128] constituted another source of income. Quite a few expeditions were organised during Zain-ul-Abidin's reign aganist Ladakh, Baltistan, and other places. According to Islamic law, one-fifth of the booty belonged to the State, and the rest went to the soldiers in equitable distribution [129] What the State share was under Zain-ul-Abidin is not clear, as there is only an obscure reference in a Persian chronicle.[130] Tributes from the feudatory states like Ladakh, Baltistan, and others, which were subject to Kashmir, also added to the State exchequer.[131] Nothing is recorded about the nature and amount of tributes the Sultan received. But we may form rough idea from references to the sixteenth-century Kashmir which show that the tributes were received in kind, such as, horses, yaks, woollen cloth. gold,[132] wool and leather from Ladakh,[133] and saffron from Kishtwar.[134] Taxes were also collected from merchants at the frontier posts on the movement of commercial goods.[135]

PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin took extraordinary interest in the improvement of agriculture and agricultural production. Rice has always been the staple food of the people of Kashmir and its cultivation required then, as now, water in abundance. The Sultan rightly understood the importance of government's initiative for providing increased irrigation facilities to the farmers for stepping up rice production. His reign is, indeed, remarkable for laying a net-work of canals and water courses covering different regions of the Valley.[136] Depressions in lands were converted into tanks and fed with water by means of canals.[137] The Sultan also caused a lake to be constructed in Padmapura, and named it "Jainasara" after his own name.[138] He brought large tracts of uncultivated land under the plough[139] and extended the area of rice cultivation.[140] Special mention may be made of the reclamation of a considerable area for rice cultivation in the *Pargana* of

Zainagiri.[141] Jahangir's estimate of his own time puts the area under rice cultivation to about 75% of the total cultivable land.[142] It was for the first time in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin that floating islands were constructed by depositing grass on the surface of water and putting earth on it.[143] The location of these artificially created tiny islands is not mentioned. However, later in Akbar's time, Abul Fazl speaks of the existence of a number of floating islands under cultivation on the surface of the Dal lake and also of their theft by fraudulent people who "at times cut off a piece and carry it away to a different position."[144] Such islands or floating lands are constructed in the Dal and Nagin lakes even to this day, and cucumbers and melons are commonly grown on them. The government projects proved a great success and Kashmir became self-sufficient in food.[145] Food was available in such abundance as Kashmir had never seen before.[146] The prices of cereals were very low.[147] Srivara frequently refers to the holding of feasts by the Sultan in which people were fed with large quantities of rice.[148] The astonishing success of the schemes the Sultan introduced is proved from a statement he once made : "For the love that I have for my subjects, I have augmented the production of my country three-fold with the help of canals, extensive cultivation, and by other means."[149]

If the testimony of the 19th-century European traveller[150] is to be believed, the annual produce of rice in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin was seventy-seven lakhs of *Kharwars* as against twenty lakhs which he found in Kashmir at the time of his visit (1822-23). The Sultan also caused an attempt to be made to grow sugarcane in the *Pargana* of Martanda,[151] but it appears to have failed, for we do not subsequently hear of its cultivation in Kashmir.

The account of measures which Zain-ul-Abidin took to bring about the "green revolution," to use the modern phrase, would be incomplete without a brief note on the canals he built or the old ones he energised.

(*i*) *Utpalapura Canal* :

It was the extension of an existing canal made to irrigate lands around the town of Utpalapura.[152]

(*ii*) *Nandashaila Canal* :

It was excavated to provide irrigation facilities to Nandashaila area referred to as a desert.[153]

(*iii*) *Karala Canal* :

It provided irrigation to the land in the *Pargana* of Karala,[154] which is also referred to as Ardhavana.[155] The canal had originally been constructed in very early times by king Suvarna, and was called Suvarnamani.[156] Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, to whom Jonaraja attributes its construction,[157] can at best be credited with its repair and revivification. It still exists as Kul Sunaman.[158]

(*iv*) *Avantipura Canal* :

It extended irrigation to Avantipura area and was instrumental in increasing rice production.[159] Some portion of the canal as far as the villages of Midpur and Rajpur is still traceable.

(*v*) *Lalkul or Pohur Canal* :

Zain-ul-Abidin constructed a dam and diverted the water of the Pohur river, a tributary of the Jehlam, through a canal to the *Pargana* of Zainagiri.[160] It derived its name from the Pohur river and irrigated the fertile tract lying between the left bank of the Pohur river and the Wular lake, in the district of Suyyapura for the cultivation of rice. It was constructed in 1459 A.D.[161]

(*vi*) *Martanda Canal* :

This canal supplied water from the river Lidar to the arid plateau of the town of Martanda.[162] Built by Lalitaditya, the town finds its mention in Kalhana's chronicle as "swelling with grapes."[163] It strongly suggests the existence of a canal in Lalitaditya's time. We can thus conclude that the Martanda canal which had long fallen into disuse was repaired in a big way and its water-supply was restored by Zain-ul-Abidin. The work was carried out under the supervision of his celebrated minister Shirya Bhatta.[164] A portion of the old canal is still in existence.

(*vii*) *Zainaganga or Lachan Kul* :

It was constructed to bring water from the river Sind to the new capital city referred to by Jonaraja as Zainanagari,[165] situated below the Hari Parvat. The canal was further extended for the supply af water to the Jami Masjid[166] and the temple of Ranaswami.[167] It finally terminated in the Mar Canal.[168] Its dry course is still traceable at places.

(*viii*) *Manas Canal* :

It was excavated to carry waters from the river Sind through the hilly tract across the district of Lar into the Manasbal lake for irrigation of the adjoining area.[169] Later, it was extended to supply water to the new city constructed on the bank of the lake in 1462 A.D.[170]

(*ix*) *Mar Canal* :

The surplus water of the Dal lake was previously drained into the river Jehlam.[171] But Zain-ul-Abidin caused it to be diverted into the Mar Canal by constructing a new link channel.[172] The other end of the canal was joined with another canal which was further stretched as far as the town of Shadipur to terminate itself into the confluence of the rivers Jehlam and Sind.[173] The canal now called the Nala Mar, "proceeds through the town (Srinagar), passing underneath several bridges, and being the most serviceable of any of the canals, although not kept in very good order, it has water sufficient to admit of boats of considerable burden, and grain is brought by this means into the heart of the city."[174]

FAMINE RELIEF POLICY

During half-a-century of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign, Kashmir suffered twice on account of natural calamities. In 1460 A.D. a heavy and untimely snowfall damaged the standing paddy crop ripe for harvest. The loss was enormous. A severe famine stared the peasants in the face and wide-spread distress among people was the consequence. Deaths occurred by starvation. The poor were driven to subsist on leaves, roots, fruits and walnuts. Thefts of rice became the sight of common occurrence.[175] It was closely followed by another calamity in 1462 A.D., when excessive rains caused a terrible flood which inundated fairly large areas in the Valley. There was great loss of life and property. Numerous houses and buildings, roads and bridges, trees, grains and cattle in towns and villages were swept away in the swift currents of the surging waters. The grain merchants as usual traded in human miseries. They exploited scarcity conditions by charging exorbitant rates and exchanging grain for precious articles. A *Kharwar* of rice which was sold for 300 *dinnars* in normal times was not ordinarily available even at 1500 *dinnars*.[176] The prices of *ghee*, oil and salt registered a marked fall for no cereals were available to eat them with. The Sultan stepped in to ease the situation with his characteristic sense of duty towards his people. Immersed in anxious thoughts, he undertook personal surveys of the flood-affected areas on boat, braving the hazards involved in those early times.[177] The relief measures he formulated to mitigate the hardships of the people constitute an unmistakable evidence of the Sultan's greatness as a ruler. Large stocks of rice stored in the government warehouses were released for public distribution and the process continued for a few months until the next crop was harvested.[178] This step not only made rice available to the people but was also calculated to hold the price line in the open market, for the Sultan had already in peace time ordered the fixation of prices of different commodities which were inscribed on thin copper plates and displayed at suitable points in all the cities of Kashmir.[179] As concessions to the farmers, the land revenue was reduced to one-fourth and even to one-seventh at certain places,[180] where the loss was obviously greater. Under Zain-ul-Abidin's orders, precious articles exchanged for grain were caused to be returned, and the proper price was paid to the merchants. The people who incurred debts during the famine were not required to repay the loan, for the deeds stood cancelled under government orders.[181] The effectiveness of Zain-ul-Abidin's relief measures can be judged from the fact that despite terrible times the spirit of emaciated men and women in Kashmir never sank so low as to force them to sell their children into slavery and to indulge in cannibalism. Such a condition had prevailed in the Punjab under the Sultans.[182]

ECONOMIC REFORMS

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin showed remarkable awareness of the economic problems faced by his people. And equally matching was the concern he displayed in solving them. The rural population was the first to engage his attention. The first year of his reign witnessed the withdrawal of all oppressive fines and penalties imposed upon them under his predecessors.[183] The practice of exacting tributes from the people by State officials was discontinued.[184] Corruption was rampant among the trading classess. They freely indulged, to use the modern phrase, in black-marketing. The merchants brought various types of merchandise from different places and concealed and hoarded them. Artificial shortages were created. Frequent fluctuations in prices of commodities occurred. As a consequence, prices rose and coffers of tradesmen swelled. Orders were, however, issued directing the merchants to desist from these malpractices and to sell articles to people at small profits. To ensure the successful implementation of this measure, Zain-ul-Abidin caused the prices of all commodities to be fixed periodically. The list of prices, inscribed on copper plates, was officially displayed in all public places in the cities.[185] These measures which aimed at rooting out all corruption and tyranny had the desired effect.[186] The Sultan also expected his successors to emulate his example in the interest of his people.[187] The Kashmir currency was floating and so far no attempt had been made to establish its relative value in terms of foreign currencies of places with which Kashmir had trade relations. This lacuna provided scope for frauds in commercial transactions. As a result, foreign trade was hampered. Zain-ul-Abidin realised the seriousness of the problem, and introduced necessary reform for the fixation of the relative value of internal currency vis-a-vis foreign currencies.[188] But no details are available.

SOCIAL REFORMS

As an enlightened ruler, Zain-ul-Abidin made every possible effort to introduce social reforms. But while doing so, he was always cautious not to hurt the sentiments of his people. This attitude is sufficiently reflected in his lack of initiative to discontinue the abnoxious practice of *Sati* at a time when he had the necessary capacity and influence and also an implicit support of public opinion. The Sultan restored all those social customs of the Hindus which his father had banned as already discussed in a previous Chapter. Widow marriages were common among the women of *Sudra* community. The custom was, however, viewed with hostility and was opposed by the upper-caste Hindus to the point of harassment of the *Sudra* community. The Sultan intervened on behalf of the *Sudras*, and silenced the voices of obscurantism. Instances of immoral traffic among women have also come to light. The main victims to this malaise were daughters of men who had no sons to protect the sisters when they died. The girls were reduced to a position of destitution. It is, indeed, remarkable that the people who exploited them were their own kith and kin. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin put a ban on this practice.[189] The Sultan's urge to introduce social reforms, whenever possible, did not extend beyond the confines of the

Valley of Kashmir. Rajapuri, for example, though a part of Kashmir's outer province, did not receive the king's attention. We have the testimony of the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir, that as late as his own time, inhuman customs of infanticide and *Sati* were in vogue in that area. In case of Muslims, the women were buried alive along with their dead husbands.[190] It is quite probable that Zain-ul-Abidin was averse to the idea of taking unpopular steps for fear of antagonising the people of a region which was yet to be emotionally integrated with Kashmir.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE

Currency

Barring a few indirect references we have nothing specific on record about the monetary system prevailing in Zain-ul-Abidin's time. However, the fact that the "monetary terms and the system of reckoning" remained unchanged from ancient times makes our task easier.[191] The lowest unit in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, was the *cowree* used for marginal payments. The Sanskrit chroniclers mention the use of *cowrees* not only in ancient Kashmir,[192] but also in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin.[193] According to the popular reckoning survived in Kashmir till recently, eight *cowrees* were equal to one *bahagani*.[194] We have references to the sale of commodities and distribution of charities in *dinnars* which ran into crores. We learn from Jonaraja that Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, on the death of his favourite minister, distributed one crore of *dinnars* in a single day.[195] Two points must be borne in mind with regard to the term *dinnar*. First, it should not be confused with the term *dinnar* of Sanskrit texts of India proper as the designation of a gold coin. Secondly, it "applied in Kashmir not to a real coin, but to a particular currency based on a unit and represented mainly by a copper coinage."[196] The currency was of various denominations. A table showing denominations of coins with designations and equivalent values on Abul Fazl's estimate has been compiled by Stein.[197]

The custom of payments in bullion was also in vogue. The *Jizya* imposed by Sultan Sikandar was paid in silver. The retention of a petty amount as *Jizya*, though never realised by Zain-ul-Abidin, was expressed in terms of silver.[198] Payments were also made in *Kharwars* of rice.[199] A *Kharwar* cost 300 *dinnars* under Zain-ul-Abidin in normal times.[200]

Coins

A large number of coins of Zain-ul-Abidin have been discovered. These are in copper, brass, silver and gold. The copper coins are available in abundance. The number of brass coins is comparatively much smaller, while the silver coins are rare, and those in gold are exceedingly scarce.

Like those of the other Sultans of Kashmir, the obverse of some of the copper and brass coins of Zain-ul-Abidin has a bar with central knot running from right to left. In some cases the central knot is elaborate, while in others it degenerates into a shabbily drawn circle. The word "*Al-Sultan-ul-Azam*" is inscribed above the bar. The whole space below the bar is occupied with the name of the Sultan. With the exception of Zain-ul-Abidin's coins, all others have the word "*Shah*" added to the name. The reverse of the coins is covered with the expression "*Zarb-i-Kashmir*" and the year is written in Arabic words. Rarely are the coins in proper and legible form. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was the only Sultan of Kashmir who deviated from the general bar-and-knot pattern, and struck coins in other styles as well. The monotony is broken when we see the reverse of the new style of these coins, which marks a departure from the traditional form. The word "*Zarb*" in Persian character is crossed by the word "Kashmir". They are enclosed by a quarter-foil lozenge with elaborate knots in the outer corners.[201] The diameters of coins vary from 1.2 to 2.3 centimetres.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin also minted silver coins, the specimens of which are very rare.[202] These coins have some peculiar characteristics. First, the pattern of dates inscribed on them is differently given, i.e., in words or in figures, or in both, or in Arabic or Persian characters. Secondly, they are all square in shape, bearing the same kind of lozenge on the reverse.[203] Thirdly, all the silver coins of Zain-ul-Abidin bear the same date, i.e., 842 A.H. (1439 A.D.) in both figures and words on the obverse and reverse respectively. Strangely enough, the silver coins of Sultan Sikandar and Zain-ul-Abidin have the same date inscribed on them. Their weight varies from 91 to 96 grams but in case of Zain-ul-Abidin's coins the difference between the various coins is only of 3 grams.[204]

The gold coins of Zain-ul-Abidin are exceedingly scarce.[205] There is a monotonous uniformity about all the gold coins whether of Zain-ul-Abidin or of his successors. Each one is about 175 grams in weight. The obverse contains the *Kalima* (the Muslim profession of faith) while the reverse contains the royal name and titles. But as regards the reverse legends, some diversity is noticeable. Whitehead[206] has illustrated only one type of Zain-ul-Abidin's gold coins as a specimen.

A survey of the coins of Zain-ul-Abidin reveals certain characteristics. His reign, though remarkable for artistic achievements, has a dismal record in respect of coinage. It represents, in fact, a sort of anti-climax. His coins, like those of other Sultans of Kashmir, are clumsy and inartistic. They aptly justify Rodger's criticism that the Kashmiris were "the worst die-sinkers in the world."[207] The inscriptions on the coins are, for the most part, worn out and illegible. There is a mechanical and meaningless repetition of the same date on his silver coins.[208] Zain ul-Abidin's coins are, therefore, devoid of any chronological significance. They are, however, important in one respect : the various titles he assumed are inscribed on the coins. The most significant is the title "*Naib-i-Amir-ul-Muminin*" which unmistakably establishes in corroboration with a Sanskrit source[209] Zain-ul-Abidin's connections with the Caliphate of Egypt.

PUBLIC WORKS

Works of public utility and welfare constituted an important aspect of Zain-ul-Abidin's government. These concerned the religious as well as the secular lives of his people. The Sultan discharged his religious obligations by ordering the construction of *mathas*, *viharas*, temples and mosques besides the scores of repairs his engineers executed as noted earlier. *Mathas* and *viharas* were extensively built for the benefit of Hindu ascetics and Buddhist monks respectively. Under Shirya Bhatta's supervision a large-sized *matha* was constructed in each *Visaya* or *Pargana*.[210] A large *vihara* was built on the bank of the river Jehlam near its confluence with the Mar canal.[211] The foundation of another *vihara* was laid across the river on the opposite side. One temple each of Siva and the Sun was built in Siddhapuri.[212]

Two mosques were erected, one of Madin Saheb in 1444 A.D.,[213] and the other on the Zainalank in 1443-44 A.D.[214] For the distribution of free food among the poor, a number of *langar-khanas* or houses of charity were established. Jonaraja particularly refers to three such charity houses, one each at Baramula, Vijayesvari and Shurpura.[215] Both the king and his queen are mentioned as taking personal pains and feeding thousands of poor people, devotees and hermits.[216] People were rehabilitated along the periphery of the Mahapadma lake (Wular lake) by setting up new villages. Trees were planted for providing shade to the people. Srivara refers to the planting of trees for the benefit of mendicants in the town of Sankarapura.[217] Tanks were constructed and decorated with birds, lotus-flowers and water-nuts.[218] In several of the tanks built by him, killing of birds and of fishes was forbidden by his command.[219] The town of Padmapura was adorned with an artificial lake called Zainasara. A beautiful palace was built by its side and was named Kulodharna.[220] Zain-ul-Abidin's reign is well known for the growth of the science of medicine and treatment of diseases. Hospitals were set up, where food and medical facilities were extended to the sick. Zain-ul-Abidin duly maintained the hospitals built in his father's time.[221] The Sultan had a great sense of achievement and to commemorate his victories over his enemies he constructed victory towers.[222] Kashmir had a net-work of roads in his time. Srivara refers to the damage caused to a number of them by the devastating flood of 1462 A.D.[223] The river Jehlam was spanned by a number of swinging bridges.[224] The construction of boat-bridges was also in vogue.[225] There is a reference to the construction of a bridge made of stone and wood comprising four towers. It was built in the city of Vijayesvari and was used by people who came to the city from the Darad villages.[226] The most important permanent bridge was the one built in Srinagar named Zainakadal after the Sultan. Laid across the river Jehlam, this bridge of stone and wood had four towers.[227] Its construction was supervised by the City-Prefect, Kanch Damara.[228] It was the tenth bridge between Srinagar and the Darad villages.[229] It survived till recently in more or less the original form. In the thirties of the present century, a new bridge of the same name replaced the old, historic one. In those early days the modern concept of water-works was non-existent. Water for human consumption was supplied from the canals and lakes. Some of the canals built by Zain-ul-Abidin were also made to provide water to a number of cities.[230] Jahangir refers to the water of Dal lake for purposes of drinking by the citizens of Srinagar.[231] There was also a system of distribution of drinking water through public booths installed at vantage points, and for the service thus rendered lands were endowed for maintenance.[232]

CONSTRUCTION WORKS

The reign of Zain-ul-Abidin was marked by an almost continuous building activity on a large scale, which testifies not only to the Sultan's passion for building but also to the high watermark of his kingdom's material prosperity. Some of the Hindu rulers of ancient Kashmir were great builders, and they built numerous cities and temples.[233] While their cities like Jayapidapura were mouldering in a process of natural decay,[234] much of their religious architecture had succumed to the iconoclasm of Zain-ul-Abidin's two immediate predecessors. The Sultan had a separate Department of Buildings under a competent architect[235] who supervised not only works of restoration and repairs but also a fairly large number of new constructions. His works of utility and public welfare comprised numerous cities and towns, well-planned with magnificent palaces, houses, roads, market-places, orchards and gardens, tanks, lakes, water-channels and sources of water-supply. He also caused some pleasure-islands to be constructed. The kingdom was diffused with rest-houses, hermitages,, and houses of charity. A man of great aesthetic sense, the Sultan is stated to have built some structure wherever he found a spot of beauty with a bracing environment.[236]

CITIES AND TOWNS

Zainapuri

It was founded in the *Pargana* of Karala and, as the name suggests, was named after the Sultan [237] It was here that the Sultan created *agraharas* the revenues of which were assigned to the *Brahmanas*.[238]

Zainanagari

Built during the early years of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign on the banks of Zainaganga, Zainanagari extended between Pradyumnagiri and Amareshpura.[239] In the city were erected *mathas* (hermitages) and market-places. The *Brahmanas* were settled here and were given *agraharas* or *jagirs.*[240] Later in 1439 A.D., a big palace was added to it. In 1464 A.D. Zain-ul-Abidin shifted his capital to Zainanagari and spent the remaining six years of his life from 1464 to 1470 A.D. in his new capital[241] The most remarkable feature of this city was a magnificent palace built in the same year. It was surmounted by a lotus-shaped golden dome of singular beauty and sparkling brilliance. The palace was made of bricks and wood. It had an audience hall with extensive walls of great width lined with glass. In the hall was installed a three-cornered throne. The palace was further adorned with small lakes and columns of victory.[242] It was still in existence when Mirza Haidar Dughlat wrote his work about eighty years after Zain-ul-Abidin's death. He describes it as having "twelve stories, some of which contain fifty rooms, halls, and corridors."[243] The Mirza was impressed by its massiveness rather than by its style of architecture. While comparing this palace with the celebrated Kiosks of Tabriz, Herat and Samarqand, the Mirza observes: "Though (the palace) is more lofty and contains more rooms than all these, yet it has not their elegance and style. It is, nevertheless, a more wonderful structure."[244] Nothing remains of the palace now, for it was predominantly a wooden structure. The Sultan's top army generals were allotted lands around the palace where they constructed their houses for residence. The *Sayyids* and men of letters of considerable celebrity like Sayyid Muhammad Madani, Mulla Parsa and others were also accommodated in the same vicinity by the Sultan so that he could have the benefit of their learned association.[245]

Zainagiri

On the other side of Suyyapura across the Jehlam was built the town of Zainagiri.[246] It was a prestigious establishment and a favourite abode to which the Sultan paid much of his attention. Out of the vast, barren, uninhabited tract of land emerged a flourishing town and a Pargana of the same name.[247] The town was adorned with a royal palace and magnificent houses, orchards and gardens with flowers of different hues and colours.[248] The Pohur canal supplied water to the area.[249] Despite marauding raids of the turbulent *Chaks*, the whole complex managed to survive till their coming to political power in 1561 A.D.[250]

Siddhapuri

It was a royal city built on the Suresvari lake in the vicinity of an abode inhabited by *Siddhas* or hermits.[251] It was so named after them. A palace erected there was shaped like a row of chariots and, like the city, was called Siddhapuri. In its precincts were lying damaged and fallen temples which the Sultan ordered to be repaired and rebuilt.[252]

Suratranapura or Sultanpura

It was founded in the provincial division of Kramarajya and was adorned with lofty buildings.[253]

Zainakotta

The special feature of this town was that all its houses were decorated with fluttering banners of silk.[254]

Zainakundala and Zainapattana

These two small towns were built on the bank of the Mahapadma lake,[255] and are not traceable now.

Zainatilaka

It was built on an elevated spot on the banks of the river Jehlam near the ancient town of Jayapidapur close to the Manasbal lake. The high location was chosen with a view to imparting immunity to the new city against floods. Its foundation was laid immediately after the notorious floods of 1460 A.D. had receded. A unique feature of the city was its white-washed houses which presented a spectacle of grandeur and elegance of a high order. This town may be regarded as an extension of the decaying city of Jayapidapura to which repairs were executed by Zain-ul-Abidin. It was surrounded on all sides by water which came from the river and flowed out of a gate.[256]

Hilalapura

In close vicinity of the city of Zainatilaka, a small township of Hilalapura was raised to commemorate the valorous deed of killing a mad elephant by one of the Sultan's servants named Hilala.[257]

Amravati

Of the city of Amravati which Zain-ul-Abidin built[258] nothing now is known.

REPAIR AND RECONSTRUCTION WORKS

The restoration works constitute an important aspect of Zain-ul-Abidin's extensive scheme of planned reconstruction. He laid his hands on everything that needed new life, be a city or a canal, a palace or a house, a temple or a mosque. Once a magnificent city, Jayapidapura was then in a process of decay. The Sultan not only ensured its preservation but also added to its physical dimensions and enhanced its prestige. A beautiful palace with a high seat of stone was built by the side of a water-tank. The adjoining marshy area was drained off to provide space for the construction of buildings for housing the government offices. The Sultan visited the city every year on the occasions of *Nagayatra* and *Ganachakra* festivals, and lavishly fed the devotees.[259] During his visit to Lohara the Sultan found there a palace in a dilapidated condition. It was repaired under his orders and given a new shape.[260] In a devastating fire accident the town of Suyyapura was completely gutted. It was rebuilt without delay. Apart from beautiful houses, a palace was also built for which material was brought from Varahamula (Baramula). Swinging bridges across the Jehlam were constructed.[261] Thus a new town arose out of a massive heap of ashes. The Sultan energised a few ancient canals which were lying dried up and out of use. Jonaraja refers to a massive gate lying broken in the capital city. The gate was reconstructed under the supervision of Ruyyabhanda, the Superintendent of Buildings.[262] A *Khanqah* (monastery) was raised in Ala-ud-dinpur by Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani. It was endowed with sufficient land by Sultan Sikandar to provide means of subsistence to its inmates. It was a small building. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin replaced it with a bigger construction.[263] The greatest mosque of Kashmir was the Jami Masjid. A major portion of the mosque was destroyed in a fire which broke out in Zain-ul-Abidin's time ; only its walls remained uncharred.[264] Originally built by Sultan Sikandar in Nauhatta, the mosque had been an imposing structure comprising 370 wooden columns. The architect of the mosque was Khwaja Sadr-ud-din Khurasani.[265] Zain-ul-Abidin, however, did not completely rebuild the mosque. Only the western facade was restored to enable the Muslim population of Srinagar to hold Friday congregational prayers.[266] This is somewhat curious on the part of a Sultan like Zain-ul-

Abidin, who was celebrated alike for his resourcefulness, generosity, and religious fervour. The partial restoration of the mosque can, however, be explained by assigning its date sometime towards the closing years of his reign, when his hands were full with troubles stirred by his sons. The period of twenty years which preceeded Zain-ul-Abidin's reign was notorious for iconoclastic jingoism. The work of repairs and reconstruction of the broken Hindu temples also fell on the Sultan which he carried out with extraordinary tolerance and courage of conviction, as noticed in the previous Chapter.

ARTIFICIAL ISLANDS AND CAUSEWAYS

A man of singular tastes, Zain-ul-Abidin caused the construction of small artificial islands and causeways in the Dal and Wular lakes by pouring earth and stones into them. The Sultan had a great fascination for the Dal lake where he came every day for a joy-ride on a boat. It was natural for him to adorn the vicinity he liked most. Srivara mentions the Dal lake decorated with two artificial islands called *Lanka*.[267] These are recognised as Rupalank (the Silver *Lanka*) and Sonalank (the golden *Lanka*)[268] and are still spots of great attraction for the Kashmiris and tourists alike. While corroborating the evidence of construction of these inlands by Zain-ul-Abidin, a Persian source adds that magnificent buildings were also erected on them.[269] But now nothing remains there to testify to the existence of any such structures in the remote past. The Sultan also constructed two causeways to facilitate the pedestrian traffic. One was built across the Dal lake from the Phag *Pargana* to the capital city,[270] and the other connected Suyyapura with Andarkot. A village was endowed for the maintenance of the latter.[271] But the major achievement of Zain-ul-Abidin was the construction of an island in the Wular lake. The Wular lake too was a favourite spot of the Sultan. During one of his visits there, he conceived of a plan to build an island in the lake. The main problem was the selection of a suitable site. The Sultan consulted the elders for the purpose.[272] Mention was made of an ancient temple which once stood in the midst of the lake. Its ruins became visible when in winter its water receded.[273] The Sultan deputed divers and boatmen to explore the highest patch under the surface of water around the ruins; and the site of the old temple was the obvious choice. In the course of exploration were also discovered two idols of metal which were once installed in the temple. The State machinery went into action. Special boats were designed for the purpose by Darood Giri, an expert from Gujarat.[274] The boats were made of pine wood and reinforced with iron clasps to impart strength and durability.[275] Boatfuls of stone and earth in thousands were brought to the spot and sunk till the surface rose sufficiently above the water level, ensuring immunity from storms and floods.[276] The island thus raised was rectangular in shape and extended from east to west.[277] It measures about 87 metres by 68·5 metres.[278] It was named after the Sultan. A magnificent palace and a mosque were built on the island. The palace was a four-storeyed building with its ground floor made of stone the first floor of bricks, and the second and third floors of timber.[279] The mosque built was a solid structure of stone.[280] The island had a beautiful garden with different varieties of fruits and flowers.[281] According to a chronogram contained in a Persian inscription on a stone slab, the date of construction of the island is calculated at 1443-44 A.D.[282] The Sultan had engaged a number of boatmen, masons and carpenters whose duty was to maintain the buildings and to prevent the erosion of soil. A village in the *Pargana* of Khuyahama was endowed to meet the expenses of the maintenance and salaries of the staff.[283] So much effort and aesthetic sense had gone into the making of this monumental foundation that there could not be any "more agreeable places in the world."[284] The Sultan often came by boat to the island for worship and generally spent there the forty days of *Ramzan*.[285] It was here that Zain-ul-Abidin's second son, Haji Khan, made a futile attempt on his life in a bid to capture the throne.[286]

No further details about buildings on the Zainalank are available in the chronicles. However, in 1821, Moorcroft, an English traveller, arrived there and examined the ruins of the two fallen structures. One site of the ruins was situated at the island's eastern extremity around which were lying scattered massive polygonal columns. The traveller believed this ruined building to be of Hindu origin.[287] His wrong impression can, however, be explained in terms of the possible use of building material derived from the temples destroyed by Zain-ul-Abidin's predecessors. The other ruined building was merely an oblong house with pitched roof and plastered walls containing fragments of blue enamel.[288] The island was originally built in the middle of the lake.[289] But now it is near the place where the river Jehlam falls into the Wular lake. This change is, however, the consequence of the constant process of silting which has been going on ever since.[290]

REFERENCES

1. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 105-108, iii, Stt. 65, 80-81.
2. Ibid, i, St. 153, vii, St. 186 3. Ibid., i, St. 122.
4. Ibid , St. 152 ; *Baharistan* , p. 47. 5. *Baharistan.*, p. 47.
6 Firishta, p. 454. 7. *Baharistan.*, pp. 47-49.
8. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
9. Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 96-97.
10. Haidar Malik, p. 45. 11. Jonaraja, St. 772.
12. Haidar Malik, pp. 45, 47.
13. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 200 ; Nizamuddin, p 671.
14. *Baharistan.*, p. 47 ; Haidar Malik, p. 47.
15. *Tuzuk.*, II, pp. 148-49.
16. Srivara, 1, vi, Stt. 17, 22, 24 ; *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 148 ; Nizamuddin, p. 659 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
17. *Baharistan.*, p 47 ; Haidar Malik, p. 47.
18. *Ain.*, II, p. 383 ; Nizamuddin, p. 659.
19. Elephants are chiefly found in the eastern parts of India, such as, West Bengal, Assam, etc.
20. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 187. 21. Ibid., i, St. 160.
22. Ibid., St. 148. 23. Ibid , Stt. 72-73.
24. Nizamuddin, p. 657.
25. Ibid. Srivara assigns exclusive authorship of this work to Zain-ul-Abidin perhaps to extol the merits of his master : (See 1, iv, Stt. 27-29).
26. Nizamuddin, p. 657. 27. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 211.
28. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 72-73. 29. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 105-106.
30. See for details, *Use of Artillery During the Sultanate Period*, Islamic Culture, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, (1961), pp. 198-203.
31. cf. Gode, *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, II, p. 41.
32. Srivara's chronicle is replete with references to these.
33. For Kashmir forts see Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 300.
34. Firishta, p. 472. 35. Stein, *R.T.*, II, 291.
36. Kalhana, II, viii, 1578, 2507, 2702, 2803.
37. See for details, Stein, *R.T.*, I, v, 214n.

38. Srivara, 1, i, St. 170, iii, St. 61, v, St 91.
39. *Baharistan.*, p. 47 ; Nizamuddin, p. 664.
40. Ibid.
41. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 109 Sqq. ; Nizamuddin, pp. 663-64.
42. *Baharistan.*, pp. 49-50, 43. Ibid., p. 47.
44. Haidar Malik, pp. 45-47. 45. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 152-54.
46. Ibid., Stt. 83, 143 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 49.
47. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 35, 166, iv, St. 49.
48. Ibid., vii, Stt. 191, 195, 201. 49. Ibid., i, St. 145.
50. Jonaraja, St. 752 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 156.
51. Srivara, 1, i, St. 159.
52. Jonaraja, Stt. 722, 726, 800 Sqq., 952, (Bo. ed.), St. 1073.
53. Ibid., St. 770 ; Nizamuddin, p. 655.
54. The Hindus fled from Kashmir in large numbers ; many committed suicide : (Jonaraja, Stt. 596 Sqq.).
55. Firishta, pp. 469-70. 56. Jonaraja, Stt. 794, 801.
57. Ibid., Stt. 960, 961. Maulana's subsequent dismissal as mentioned by Parmu (p. 147) is not supported by evidence.
58. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 44-50. For identification of Chibh with Bhimbhar see Appendix A—(v).
59. Srivara, 1, i, St. 36. 60. Ibid., iii, St. 70.
61. Jonaraja, St. 959 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 45.
62. *Baharistan.*, p. 7.
63. Haidar Malik, p. 47 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 52.
64. *Baharistan.*, p. 52.
65. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, (Eng. tr.), *Muslim Institutions*, p. 149.
66. Jonaraja, St. 959. 67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., (Bo. ed.), St. 1073.
69, Nizamuddin, p. 653.
70. There are a number of cases recorded by Jonaraja and Nizamuddin.
71. Jonaraja, Stt. 11, 970.
72. Jonaraja mentions at least two such cases with full details : (Stt. 787-93, 954-58).
73. Nizamuddin, p. 656. 74. Jonaraja, Stt. 790-91.
75. Nizamuddin, p. 656.
76. For details see Jonaraja, Stt. 841 Sqq.
77. Ibid., Stt. 801-808.
78. For this case see Nizamuddin, p. 656.
79. *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (Islamic Culture), Vol. XV, (1941), p. 451.
80. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 38-39 ; Nizamuddin, p. 657 ; Firishta, p. 470.
81. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 436. 82. Jonaraja, St. 952.
83. Ibid., (Singh), St. 952 and note.
84. Nizamuddin, p. 656. 85. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 44-50.

86. Jonaraja, St. 840. 87. Ibid., St. 795.
88. For details see *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden), pp. 261-63.
89. Jonaraja, Stt. 890-96 ; Nizumuddin, p. 660.
90. Gaudefroy-Demombvnes, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
91. Jonaraja, Stt. 841-55.
92. Almost a similar kind of punishment is mentioned by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. But it was inflicted for dereliction of duty : (*Tuzuk.*, I, pp. 175-76).
93. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 83.
94. cf. Singh, *R.T.*, p. 473, note 855 (i).
95. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1084 ; Nizamuddin, p. 654 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
96. Jonaraja, St. 783. 97. Srivara, 1, i, St. 23, vii, St. 119.
98. Nizamuddin, p. 665. 99. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 424-25.
100. Firishta, p. 453 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 382 and note 1.
101. *Ain.*, II, p. 366. 102. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 36-38.
103. Nizamuddin, p. 665; Rodgers, J.A.S.B., Vol: 54, (1885), p. 106.
104. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 425.
105. Jonaraja, Stt. 801-808.
106. Ibid., St. 882. 107. Sayyid Ali, f. 19b.
108. *Baharistan.*, p. 46. The place mentioned in this work is Tibet. For its identification with Ladakh, see Appendix A—(ii).
109. Jonaraja, Stt. 864, 869, 879.
110. Haidar Malik, p. 47 ; Srivara, 1, iv, St. 50.
111. *Baharistan.*, pp. 31-32.
112. cf. Saran, *Provincial Government etc.*, p. 331.
113. Ghoshal, *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 26 Sqq.
114. Nizamuddin, pp. 654-55.
115. Ibid., p. 665.
116. Srivara, I, vii, Stt. 36-37 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 366.
117. *Ain*, II, p. 388 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 654-55.
118. *Ain.*, II, p. 366.
119. Stein, *R.T*, I, v, 171n, II, viii, 61n. Also Preface, *R.T.*, I, p. vii.
120. *Ain.*, II, p. 366. A *Kharwar* or *Khari* means an "ass's load" in Kashmiri dialect and weighs about 177 pounds, i.e., 80.29 kg : (Stein, *R.T.*, I, v, 71n).
121. Jonaraja, St. 844. 122. Nizamuddin, p. 655.
123. Jonaraja, St. 885.
124. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 287 ; Singh, *R.T.*, pp. 496-97, 885n. Abul Fazl mentions the process of obtaining gold : "The skins of long-haired goats are spread in the fords of this river, with stones placed round them that the current may not bear them away. They are taken up after three days and left in the sun. When dry, they are shaken, yielding their three *tolahs* weight of gold dust." : (*Ain.*, II, p. 365).

125. Jonaraja. Stt. 885-86. 126. Nizamuddin, p. 655.
127. Sayyid Ali, f. 19b ; *Baharistan.*, p. 46.
128. Nizamuddin, p. 654. 129. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
130. Nizamuddin, p. 654 and note 4.
131. *Baharistan.*, pp. 46-47.
132. Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat.*, (D & H), III, p. 481.
133. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 420.
134. Haidar Malik, *MS* (*I O.*), f. 167b.
135. Jonaraja, St. 969 ; Srivara, I, v, St. 22.
136. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 25, 28 ; Nizamuddin, p. 653.
137. Srivara, 1, v, St. 30.
138. Ibid., vi, St. 1. Padmapura is the modern town of Pampur on the Jehlam, 74° 59′ long. 34° 1′ lat. : (Stein, *R.T.*. I, iv, 695n). It is not possible to identify Jajnasara in the absence of any evidence or tradition associated with either of the two existing lakes, Maini Bugh and Fashkhoor in Pampur.
139. Srivara, 1, v, St. 25, vii, Stt. 37, 38 ; Nizamuddin, p. 653.
140. *Baharistan.*, pp. 48-49 ; Srivara, 1, v, St. 25.
141. Sayyid Ali, f. 19a ; *Baharistan.*, p. 49.
142. *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 146.
143. Srivara, 1, v, St. 45. Their construction is described in detail by a European traveller who visited Kashmir during 1822-23. There are various aquatic plants like water lilies, conferval, sedges, etc., which grow in the lakes. The roots of these plants are cut off about two feet under water. When thus detached from the soil they are pressed into somewhat closer contact, and formed into beds of about two yards in breadth, and of an indefinite length. The heads of these plants are cut off and spread over its surface. It is then covered with a thin layer of fresh and soft mud drawn from the bottom of the lake. The bed floats but is held in its place by a stave of willow drawn through it at each end : (For more details see Moorcroft, *Travels*, II, pp. 137-39).
144. *Ain.*, II, p. 361. 145. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 32.
146. *Baharistan.*, p. 48. 147. Ibid. ; Haidar Malik, p. 47.
148. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 15-17, 19, 21-23, 38, 50.
149. Ibid.,vii, St. 113.
150. Moorcroft, *Travels*, II, p. 135.
151. Jonaraja, St. 974.
152. Ibid., St. 861. Utpalapura is now survived in the large village of Kakapur on the river Jehlam : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 474).
153. Jonaraja, St. 862. Nandashaila is Kalhana's Nandisila which corresponds to the modern village of Nadihel in the Hamal *Pargana*, 74° 26′ long. 34° 15′ lat : (Stein, *R.T.*, I, iii, 467n).
154. Jonaraja, St. 863.
155. Ibid., (Bo. ed.), St. 1330. It is survived in the modern Adavin,

a large village about three miles south-west of Bijbihara : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 471).

156. Kalhana, I, i, 97. 157. Jonaraja, St. 863.

158. cf. Stein, *R.T.*. I, i, 97n. 159. Jonaraja, St. 865.

160. Sayyid Ali, f. 19b ; *Baharistan.*, p. 49.

161. Jonaraja, St. 868 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 52. Suyyapura is modern Sopor : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 487).

162. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1258. The town is now survived in the small *Pargana* of Matan, 75° 17′ long. 33° 45′ lat. (Stein, *R T.*, I, iv, 192n).

163. Kalhana, I, iv, 192.

164. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1245 Sqq.

165. Ibid., Stt. 869, 870. The Sind river should not be confused with the Indus. It is a local river, a tributary of the Jehlam.

166. Rafi-ud-din, f. 45b. 167. Jonaraja, St. 871.

168. Stein, *R.T.*, I, iii, 453-54n.

169. Jonaraja, St 866. The name of the river mentioned in this stanza is the Ganga which is identified with the river Sind of Kashmir : (Stein, *R.T.*, I, i, 57n).

170. Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 3 Sqq., 39.

171. Ibid., v, St, 54 ; Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 191.

172. Sayyid Ali, f. 19a.

173. Srivara, 1, v, St. 55. Shadipur is now a large village, 74° 34′ long. 34° 11′ lat., about nine miles to the north-west of Srinagar : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 329).

174. The description given by Moorcroft (*Travels*, II, p. 116) who visited Kashmir in 1822-23 A.D., holds good even to this day.

175, Srivara, I, ii, Stt. 9, 11-16, 20, 21, 31, 33 ; Nizamuddin, p. 665.

176. Srivara, 1, ii, Stt. 25, 31-32, iii, Stt. 2 Sqq. One hundred *dinnars* are shown equivalent to $\frac{1}{40}$ rupee : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 328).

177. Ibid., St. 22, iii, Stt. 26-28.

178. Ibid., Stt. 28-29, v, St. 26 ; Nizamuddin, p. 665.

179. Nizamuddin, p. 653. 180. Ibid., p. 665.

181. Srivara, 1, ii, Stt. 32, 34.

182. Nijjar, *Punjab Under the Sultans*, p. 125.

183. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1084 ; Nizamuddin, p. 654 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.

184. Nizamuddin, p. 654 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383 ; J.A.S.B., Vol. 54, (1885), p. 103.

185. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1085 ; Nizamuddin, p. 654.

186. Nizamuddin, p. 654. 187. Ibid.

188. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1086.

189. Ibid., Stt. 1080-81. 190. *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 181.

191. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 312.

192. Kalhana, I, vii, 112 ; Ksemendra, *Samayamatrika*, viii, 80, pp. 155-56.
193. Jonaraja, St. 588 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 37.
194. The value of one *bahagani* is shown equivalent to $\frac{1}{320}$ rupee : (Stein, *R.T.*, pp. 223-24).
195. Jonaraja, St. 972. 196. J.R.A.S., (1900), p. 193.
197. *Ain* , I, pp. 355-56 ; Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 323.
198. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed), Stt. 1077-78.
199. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 328. 200. Srivara, I, v, St. 25.
201. J.A.S.B., Vol. XLVIII, (1879), p. 282.
202. Only one specimen of the silver coin is displayed in the public gallery of the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar.
203. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, (Calcutta), p. 190.
204. J.A.S.B., Vol. 54, (1885), p. 96.
205. Zain-ul-Abidin was a very rich king and it is recorded of him that he distributed gold pieces or coins in exceedingly large number : (J.A.S.B., Vol. 54, (1885), p. 105). Yet his gold coins are very scarce.
206. N.C.J.R.N.S., 5th Series, Vol. XIII, (1933), pp. 261-62.
207. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXV, (1896), p. 223.
208. N.C.J.R.N.S., 5th Series, Vol. XIII, p. 261.
209. Srivara, 1, vi, St. 26. 210. Jonaraja, St. 889.
211. Srivara, I, v, Stt. 62-63. 212. Jonaraja, St. 874.
213. The date of its construction is known from an inscription on its gate.
214. The date is derived from a stone slab inscription now preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar.
215. Jonaraja, Stt. 881, 889. Jonaraja mentions Varahaksetra, Vijayaksetra and Shurapura. The first two are identified with the modern towns of Baramula and Bijbihara : (Singh, *R.T.*, 880n, i and ii, p. 490). Shurapura is the modern village of Hurapor which is referred to as the entrance station for reaching Kashmir from Rajauri or vice versa on the Pir Panjal route : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 394).
216. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 48-49.
217. Ibid., Stt. 13, 18. Sankarapura is the large village of Patan, 74° 37′ long. 34° 10′ lat., on the high road from Srinagar to Baramula : (Stein, *R.T.*, I, v, 156n).
218. Ibid., St. 30. 219. Jonaraja, St. 953.
220. Srivara, 1, vi, Stt. 1, 3. 221. *Baharistan.*, p. 32.
222. Srivara, 1, i, St. 173 ; Firishta, p. 472.
223. Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 1 Sqq., 25.
224. Ibid., vii, Stt. 43-44. 225. Ibid., iii, St. 96.
226. Ibid., Stt. 13, 18. Darad villages possibly denote the area to the east and north-east of Baramula where *Darads* migrating from the Kishanganga Valley and above made their habitation in ancient and early medieval times.

227. Ibid., St. 82. 228. Jonaraja, Stt. 887-88.
229. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 82. 230. Ibid., v, St. 54.
231. *Tuzuk.*, I, p. 93. 232. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 178.
233. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Chapter VIII.
234. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 37. 235. Jonaraja, St. 946.
236. *Baharistan.*, p. 50.
237. Jonaraja, St. 864 ; Haidar Malik, p. 45. Zainapuri is the modern Zainapor which has given its name to the tract of Adavin *Pargana* situated on the alluvial plateau to the south of the Rembyara river. Karala is identified with this tract : (Stein, *R. T.*, 1, i, 97n).
238. Jonaraja, St. 864. *Agrahara* is the term used for designating a *jagir*, village or piece of land the revenue of which was assigned to an individual or a religious institution : (Stein, *R. T.*, 1, i, 87n).
239. Ibid., St. 869. Pradyumnagiri is the modern Hari Parvat : (Stein, *R. T.*, 1, iii, 453-54n). Amaresapura is identified with the modern village of Amburher about 2½ miles to the south of Ranyil, a village situated, 74° 52′ long. 34° 12′ lat., close to the high road wich leads from Srinagar to Gandarbal (Stein, *R. T*, 1, i, 287n).
240. Ibid., St. 869.
241. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 4, 5, 7. The Persian chroniclers mention the new capital as Naushahr, i. e., the new city.
242. Ibid., Stt. 5-8, 10-11.
243. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 429. The chronicler refers to Zainanagari as *Rajdan* which is a corruption of *Rajdhani*, i. e., the capital city.
244. Ibid., pp. 429-30.
245. *Baharistan.*, p. 41 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 15a.
246. Jonaraja, St. 872 ; Haidar Malik, p. 45.
247. Sayyid Ali, f. 19a ; *Baharistan.*, p. 52.
248. Sayyid Ali, f. 19a ; Jonaraja, St. 872.
249. Jonaraja, St. 868. 250. Sayyid Ali, f. 19b.
251. Jonaraja, St. 873. Suresvari is the ancient name of the Dal lake : (Singh, *R. T.*, p. 487, 873n (i)).
252. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 43-44.
253. Jonaraja, St. 947. The town is survived in the modern village of Sultanpur in the Patan-Tapar region : (Singh, *R. T.*, p. 519, 947n (i)).
254. Ibid., St. 948. Haidar Malik also refers to this town : (p. 45). The town is survived in the village of the same name situated near the marshy ground about two miles to the south-east of a small village of Malur. Malur is some six miles below Srinagar on the Jehlam : (Stein, *R. T.*, II, p. 423).

255. Ibid., St. 950. Mahapadmasaras is the ancient name for the Wular lake : (Stein, *R. T.*, II, p. 423).
256. Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 2 Sqq., 33-39.
257. Ibid., St. 43. 258, Ibid., iv, St. 3.
259. Ibid., iii, Stt. 37, 44 Sqq. 260. Ibid., v, St. 12.
261. Ibid., vii, Stt. 34, 41-44. 262. Jonaraja, St. 946.
263. *Baharistan.*, p. 33 ; Sayyid Ali, ff. 12a-b.
264. *Baharistan.*, p. 53.
265. Ibid., p. 32 ; Haidar Malik, p. 44.
266. *Baharistan.*, p. 53. 267. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 33, 39.
268. Stein, *R. T.*, II, p. 417. *Lanka* means an island in Kashmiri.
269. *Baharistan.*, p. 50. 270. Sayyid Ali, f. 13 b.
271. Ibid., f. 17a. 272. Jonaraja, Stt. 913-17, 920.
273. *Baharistan.*, p. 51 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 16b ; Haidar Malik, p. 46.
274. *Baharistan.*, p. 51. 275. Jonaraja, St. 919.
276. Ibid., St. 918 ; *Tuzuk.*, 1, p. 94.
277. *Baharistan.*, p. 51.
278. The measurements given in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (pp. 428-29) and *Tuzuk* (1, p. 94) are confusing and contradictory. The island is situated in lat. 34° 22′, long. 74° 40′ at an elevation of 5,187 ft. : (Bates, Gazetteer of Kashmir, pp. 254-55.).
279. Sayyid Ali, f. 15b. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* mentions the construction of a charming palace but gives no details : (p 429). *Baharistan-i-Shahi* assigns it only two storeys : (p. 52). Sayyid Ali being the earliest authority should be regarded more authentic.
280. *Baharistan.*, p. 53. 281. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 429.
282. *Baharistan.*, p. 52.
283. Haidar Malik, p. 46. Khuyahama is the Khuyahom *Pargana* which stretches in a semi-circle round the north shore of the Wular lake : (See Stein, *R. T.*, II. p. 488).
284. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 429. 285. *Tuzuk.*, 1, p. 94.
286. Ibid., pp. 94-95 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 17a.
287. Moorcroft, *Travels*, II, p. 223.
288. Ibid.
289. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 428 ; Jonaraja, St. 941.
290. Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, p. 166 ; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

CHAPTER VII

REBELLIONS AND THE CLOSING YEARS

An exceptionally long period of over half a century, Zain-ul-Abidin's reign was one of complete immunity from foreign invasions. With the exception of two minor convulsions, Kashmir also enjoyed a long spell of uninterrupted peace on the domestic front during the first three decades of his reign. But the later years of his life were disturbed by intermittent intrigues and rebellions. Like the Mughal emperor Shahjahan who ruled over Kashmir about two centuries later, Zain-ul-Abidin was destined to witness a chaotic war of succession among his sons, a war which began in 1452 A.D. and lasted till the Sultan's last moments when he lay dying in anguish eighteen years later. While the Sultan had to bear the brunt of each convulsion himself, the emperor remained only a mute spectator of events in prison as the fierce struggle raged and rocked his mighty empire Zain-ul-Abidin, however, was luckier in at least having been spared the gruesome spectacle of a son being killed by another.

REBELLION OF PANDU CHAK

The peace that Zain-ul-Abidin strove to maintain for a fairly long time, through efficient administration was, however, broken by the persistently recalcitrant attitude of the warlike tribe of the *Chaks* under their leader Pandu Chak.[1] The *Chaks* were one of the numerous tribes of the *Darads* inhabiting the mountain valleys in the immediate north of Kashmir collectively known as Dardistan.[2] Kalhana frequently refers to the political relations the *Darads* had with Kashmir, both as invaders and allies,[3] in the course of which many of them must have settled down in the Valley in pre-Muhammadan times. Cruel and warlike, they were well known for their fighting abilities.[4] Coming from Dardistan in the wake of their leader Langar Chak, the *Chaks* settled in Kashmir during the reign of king Suhadeva (1301-1320 A.D.), where they prospered and multiplied.[5] Later, Sultan Shams-ud-din (1339-1342 A.D.), recognising their merit, recruited them in his army as soldiers and officers to the exclusion of all others excepting the tribe of the *Magres*[6]. Nothing is known about the nature of the role they played subsequently till we hear of their descendants as the disturbers of peace in the early part of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign. Their leader was Pandu Chak[7] who had the characteristic turbulence peculiar to his tribe.

With a view to infusing vigour and efficiency, the Sultan had restructured the various administrative divisions of the kingdom by recasting the existing ones as also by creating some new ones. This enabled him to exercise greater vigilance on the various units, and more particularly on the sensitive areas which were prone to frequent troubles. One of such trouble-spots was the north-west portion of Kramarajya which included a pocket of *Chak* habitation in the village of Trahgam.[8] A new sub-divisional headquarter of Zainagiri in Kramarajya was created for the purpose where a complex of government buildings including a palace was constructed.[9] It is stated in the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* that the *Chaks*, apprehensive of the dreadful prospect of being subjected to forced labour, such as the carriage of luggage and the like, in the event of the Sultan taking up his residence there, displayed a spirit of revolt.[10] The chronicler obviously ignores and perhaps deliberately so,[11] the real motive of their opposition. The *Chaks* were, indeed, terrified at being brought under an effective administrative control for their outrageous behaviour. The levy of forced labour could hardly have been a possible reason in an age of autocracy for their consistant impetuosity which they were subsequently to display with great vehemence.

The *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is the only source which speaks of the *Chak* rebellion in some detail. When Zain-ul-Abidin went to the new city of Zainagiri and requisitioned, the chronicler alleges, the services of people for forced labour, the *Chaks* were conspicuous by their absence. This was not all. Pandu Chak and his followers in a daring raid put the palace and other buildings on fire, and withdrew to the mountains in the vicinity of the village of Trahgam. Pandu Chak had earlier taken the precaution of sending his family and those of his followers in safety across the mountains to Drav. A strong military contingent was at once despatched to chastise him, but he succeeded in escaping and joining his family at Drav. The royal task force, however, retaliated by destroying all their houses in Trahgam.

Nothing could be done beyond this for they were sheltered by the people of Drav. The palace at Zainagiri was, in the meantime, ordered by the Sultan to be rebuilt. In yet another raid, which Pandu Chak made not long after, the palace was destroyed again by fire in sheer vengeance. It necessitated a determined effort to put an end to their marauding activities. Through a policy based on a judicious combination of punishments and rewards, the Sultan induced the people of Drav to help him in rounding the *Chaks* up. Pandu Chak and all his sons, relatives, and kinsmen who were capable of bearing arms were captured and ordered to be executed by the Sultan. But he showed his magnanimity by sparing the lives of their women and children, and rehabilitating them in a village named Kavaral situated on the other extreme of Kashmir.[12] It is not possible to identify this village. Its location in Madavarajya is, however, confirmed by Srivara.[13] The main outlines given by the Persian chronicler find some corroboration in Srivara's statement: "He (Zain-ul-Abidin) knew *Chakra* and others to be wicked men and he therefore confiscated their land, (but) made provision for their livelihood, and kept them in the Madava country (Madavarajya)".[14] Srivara's "*Chakra* and others" should be identified with Pandu Chak and his followers. Their descendants were destined later to exercise considerable influence on Kashmir politics not only as powerful nobles but also as rulers of a dynasty to which they gave their name for a quarter of a century (1561-1586 A.D.).[15]

REBELLION OF THE KOKAL TASH TRIBE

Another trouble-spot was the frontier province of Naushahra, a far-flung mountainous region beyond the Pir Panjal range between Rajauri and Bhimbhar. The people of one of the tribes, called *Kokal Tash* inhabiting Naushahra, had become notorious for their organised acts of lawlessness which caused considerable nuisance to the people as well as to the governmental authority. Once they rose in a major revolt when Sayyid Hasan, the Viceroy of the province, was away at Srinagar. Supplied with reinforcements by Zain-ul-Abidin, he rushed to suppress the rebellion. Sayyid Hasan, in fact, already burned with vengeance, for people of the *Kokal Tash* tribe were also suspected of having contrived the murder of his father, Miran Sayyid Nasir, by poisoning. A grim battle was fought in which a large number of insurgents were slain. Their remnants finally submitted to the governmental authority ushering in an era of peace in the region.[16]

WAR OF SUCCESSION

The Genesis

After the crack-down, the *Chak* and the *Kakal Tash* tribes never raised their ugly heads again in Zain-ul-Abidin's reign.[17] However, the disruption, when it came, was the exclusive handiwork of his three sons who gave him and the kingdom much trouble during the last eighteen years of his life. The Sultan's first queen called Makhdumah Khatun or Bod Khatun was the daughter of Sayyid Mahmud Baihaqi.[18] She bore him two daughters of whom one was married to Mirak Sayyid Hasan Baihaqi,[19] and the other to the Qarlagh ruler of Pakhli.[20] Zain-ul-Abidin begot four sons through his marriage with the two Jammu princesses. They were Adam Khan, the eldest, Haji Haidar Khan, the second, and Jasrat and Bahram, the younger sons.[21] Jasrat died while in infancy. As the three surviving princes grew up, their rival ambitions drove them into a fray with each other which assumed the character of a regular war of succession. This war ravaged the kingdom intermittently for about two decades.

From the hostility which Adam and Haji so stubbornly displayed against each other, it seems quite probable that they were born of different mothers. Handsome in appearance, Adam as a child was endowed with pleasing and graceful manners. Haji showed great promise early in his life. Both the princes were the favourites of their parents.[22] But their subsequent training was far from satisfactory. The Sultan committed them to the charge of the two *Thakur* brothers who brought them up in a most pernicious atmosphere. Much damage was done. Srivara observes: "The two *Thakkuras*, the sons of his nurse knew how to serve their own interests and to damage their opponents: and they became to each other like the two disputants in logic. They cut the stem of the tree of brotherly affection, and, owing to their mutual envy, became envious of the princes : the three worthy sons of the king, grew up in mutual enmity caused by the *Thakkuras*."[23] The climate in which they had grown up was hardly conducive to a healthy development of their personalities. Vain, cruel, covetous and capricious, Adam Khan was fond of the company of women, and spent his time in all sorts of amusements.[24] He was capable of resorting to any act of meanness, trickery and deception to achieve his ends.[25] Haji Khan, on the other hand, grew up into a spirited young man, fair-complexioned, humble, courteous and graceful in his manners,[26] but irresolute and fickle-minded.[27] He became the king's greatest favourite.[28] Unfortunately, Haji Khan took to drinking, and despite his father's spirited intervention, he degenerated into a chronic drunkard. This vicious habit ultimately sapped his vitality.[29] Inexperienced and young in years, Bahram Khan played a vicious role and made matters worse by intensifying their feelings of jealous hostility towards each other instead of exercising a moderating influence over his brothers.[30]

The crux of the whole problem was concerned with the issue of succession which during the king's life-time implied his deposition to which his sons directed their efforts time and again while fighting among themselves. The Muslim theory of sovereignty confers the sovereign powers on any bonafide Muslim.[31] The sword thus became the only arbiter between them in the absence of a fixed law of succession. The ministers too played their vicious part which further aggravated the situation. Srivara records : "It was owing to the wicked policy of the ministers that the princes felt angry with each other, and the elder and the younger did not perform their mutual duties."[32] Haji Khan, being Zain-ul-Abidin's most favourite son, was declared heir-apparent after the death of the Sultan's younger brother, Muhammad Khan, on whom this status had earlier been conferred.[33] The violation of the natural law of primogeniture, which in actual practice was still to be superseded in Kashmir, incensed the feelings of Adam Khan. Never before in this royal line had the claims of the eldest son been set aside in such a manner. And the trouble that started was a natural one, and became increasingly complicated as the years rolled by. The Sultan was, however, justified in his choice and declaration, for Adam Khan was unfit to rule.

THE FIRST PHASE

Zain-ul-Abidin's younger brother, Muhammad Khan, functioned as the Prime Minister,[34] and enjoyed the status of heir-apparent.[35] He exercised considerable powers in matters of State policy and judicial decisions.[36] After Muhammad's death, Zain-ul-Abidin's second son, Haji Khan, stepped into this dual position.[37] The appointment of Haji was a danger signal for it superseded the claim of the eldest son, Adam Khan. It had never happened before. The general practice which had been followed in the past was to nominate the king's younger brother or his eldest son. Rightly anticipating a major confrontation between the two brothers, who were already hostile to each other, the Sultan adopted the policy of separating them on different missions.[38] The king, in the first instance, ordered Adam Khan to leave Kashmir immediately on an assignment to "a foreign country."[39] When he showed his unwillingness, the Sultan served him with a warning: "O! bad son if you do not act according to my reasonable command, difficulties will arise which will destroy your dignity, life and wealth." Adam Khan then offered to go and take charge of Lohara. But the servants refused to accompany him, and showed strong preference for Haji Khan, a liberal and generous man. They said: "We would rather die in his (Haji's) service and before his eyes than serve who is so weak and devoid of powers."[40] Thereupon, Zain-ul-Abidin decided in turn to send out Adam Khan on an expedition to conquer Baltistan, and Haji Khan to Lohara as the Viceroy. Adam Khan was despatched with a strong force to Baltistan which he promptly subjugated.[41] He returned to the capital laden with an immense quantity of booty for the Sultan.[42] It was now the turn of Haji Khan to be sent out, for "the king knew that the two swords do not find room in the same scabbard, and so he caused one of his two sons to go out and the other to come into the country (Kashmir)."[43] Haji Khan went to Lohara under the Sultan's orders.[44] However, before long, a group of his servants led by his minister, Ravatralvala, became home-sick, and instigated Haji Khan to march back to Kashmir in defiance of the king's orders.[45] Ravatralvala also incited him against Adam Khan who, he said, was enjoying in comfort the attractions of Kashmir. The minister explained that the circumstances were quite favourable for them in Kashmir. Rig, the Lord Chamberlain (the *Pratihara*), a celebrated warrior and the main-stay of the Sultan, was dead. Rajanaka, the *Pratihara*, who replaced him, was not loyal to the Sultan and was waiting for Haji's arrival in the Valley to extend him his support. These developments in the opinion of Ravatralvala, had brightened up the prince's chances of even grabbing the throne.[46] Thereupon, Haji Khan consulted his other two ministers, Phirya Damara and Tajatantresa. They vehemently opposed the idea of his returning to Kashmir on various grounds. First, the advice tendered to Haji was motivated by pure self-interest without due regard of circumstances. Secondly, it was ethically incorrect to proceed against his father, a just and accomplished ruler, particularly when he was so favourably disposed towards him. Thirdly, it was unsound militarily, for the Sultan's forces were too formidable to be overcome. Besides, the mountainous terrain that intervened would pose immense difficulties of access into the Valley of Kashmir.[47]

There is definite evidence to show that during Haji's absence from Kashmir, Adam Khan had managed to come closer to his father.[48] Such a situation obviously threatened Haji's favoured position as an heir-apparent. When ambition and jealousy fermented together in his mind, the obvious decision was a march on the capital in 1452 A. D. On his minister's advice, Haji took to the road via Rajapuri and entered Kashmir through the Pir Panjal Pass.[49] The selection of this route in preference to the one over the Toshamaidan Pass, a direct and main line of communication between Lohara and Kashmir, was, as Srivara strongly suggests, motivated by their expectation to receive help from the people of Rajapuri.[50] The news of Haji Khan's attack caused much anguish to Zain-ul-Abidin which he expressed in these words: "The thought of war and peace always creates alarm; and when such alarm is caused by one's own son, his happiness is at an end."[51] The action of Haji Khan received great censure of the people of Kashmir.[52] The Sultan, however, marched at the head of his army and encamped on the plain of Mallasila in the *Pargana* of Suprasamana.[53] Anxious to avoid a bloody battle against his son, the Sultan tried conciliation. He sent a *Brahmana* ambassador with a lengthy message to Haji Khan full of paternal feelings but ending with a note of warning of serious consequences if he did not desist from this act of hostility.[54] But Haji's soldiers reacted sharply to the message and chopped off the envoy's ears. When it came to the notice of the prince, he was moved and felt ashamed. He decided to approach Abhimanyu, the *Pratihara*, for permission to meet the king for submission.[55] And he spoke to his ministers thus : "Be the king pleased or angry, he will deal with me as he likes. I shall always serve the feet of the king, and he surely will protect me In my judgment, this battle should not be begun. I do not, even in dream, think of mischief to the king ....My elder (Adam Khan) is approaching in the front and my father is preparing for battle, I have not come prepared to kill my father."[56] But his ministers did not approve of his decision for it was too late. Even Tajatantresa, who had earlier shown great opposition to the proposal, insisted on sticking to the decision taken. Their reaction was a natural one, for they feared severe punishment once the father and son were reconciled with each other. The reins of the prince's horse were forcibly held and he was threatened with violence in case of surrender.[57] Haji Khan was thus instigated, and finally frightened into arraying his army for a battle against his father.[58]

On the other hand, Zain-ul-Abidin was thrown into a fit of rage when he saw his *Brahmana* ambassador returned with ears chopped off.[59] Before, however, the Sultan could order his troops to move, the enemy forces appeared on the plain of Mallasila and the two forces were locked in fierce battle. The battle waged the whole day and took a heavy toll of life.[60] The Artillery was for the first time employed by Zain-ul-Abidin in this battle. Srivara records : "The army of the king (Zain-ul-Abidin) was like a cloud, furnished with weapons like lightnings, and it showered forth arrows with deep and prolonged roar."[61] The two sons of the Sultan's nurse, Hasan Thakur and Husain Thakur, bravely fought by the side of the king. Adam Khan and the *Rajput* warriors, Svarna Seha and Ganga, showed conspicuous bravery. While Adam lived to receive the king's favours, the two *Rajputs* fell fighting as martyres. Haji Khan's forces were completely routed. Adam Khan pursued and killed many of them in retreat.[62] In his foolish excitement, he even slew some persons who were going to participate in a marriage feast in Surapura.[63] He was, however, ordered by the affectionate father not to harass Haji Khan.[64] Collecting the remnant of his forces, Haji Khan consoled his demoralised soldiers and fled with a penitent heart to Bhimbhar (Chibh) via Surapura (Hirapura) and "occupied himself with the treatment of the wounded."[65]

Zain-ul-Abidin came to realise the exorbitant cost he had to pay for his misplaced kindness. "He had thought to himself"

Srivara records, "that by placing the burden of the kingdom on his son (Haji Khan) he would obtain rest, and with this view he had entrusted the administration of the country to his kindreds, to the lords of the kingdom who had surrounded themselves with horsemen, and to his principal servants whom he had favoured. But they had all sided with his son, and had come to fight with him to usurp his kingdom. He blamed himself for having cast aside prudence in his kindness and accused himself as the cause of the mischief."[66] With this sense of realisation, Zain-ul-Abidin returned to the capital from the battle-field and, according to Srivara, "caused the heads of the great warriors who had fallen in battle to be brought and over them he built a beautiful edifice in the town."[67] It has an obvious reference to the heads of enemies killed for Nizamuddin speaks of the erection of a high minaret of the heads of enemies including those of the prisoners of war who were executed after capture,[68] while Firishta tells of a simple pillar built "round which were suspended the heads of those rebels who had been taken prisoners in the engagement."[69] Their family members and descendants were subjected to great tortures.[70] The Sultan then deputed Adam to launch an attack on the fort in Kramarajya where a large number of Haji's supporters were hiding.[71] Many of them were seized and executed and their property was confiscated, while others surrendered and went over to Adam Khan.[72] The display of such a cruel spectacle is a solitary example in his long career for he never, in fact, showed this instinct as a ruler before or after these incidents. These measures, however, were sufficient to serve as a serious warning to rebellious elements in the political life of Kashmir and the next five years were to pass without any violent convulsion.

THE SECOND PHASE : BATTLE OF SUYYAPURA

The battle of Mallasila and the events which immediately followed it threw up Adam Khan as a popular hero enjoying supreme confidence and favour of his father.[73] In recognition of his services, the Sultan proclaimed him his heir-apparent,[74] and appointed him the Viceroy of Kramarajya,[75] which office he held with absolute powers for a period of five years.[76] A few of Haji Khan's followers stationed at Kramarajya were made over to him[77] in addtion to a large retinue which he brought from Kashmir to take possession of the province.[78] Adam Khan signalled the beginning of his tenure by confiscating all movable and immovable property which Haji Khan had held at Kramarajya.[79] His whole rule was characterised by the commission of a series of inconceivable brutalities and acts of moral turpitude. "The oppressed country (Kramarajya)", Srivara records, "resounded with the cries of villagers wherever that sinful man (Adam Khan) passed through, like a dire calamity."[80] All lands granted to people as a mark of favour and legalised by proper deeds were resumed.[81] Motivated by massive greed, Adam Khan "plundered the people of their riches in some places by the usual methods, in other places by threat, or craft or by deceiving them."[82] He even robbed the rural gentry, the *Lavanyas*, of their wealth by treacherous means.[83] The State officials harassed women by all sorts of humiliating overtures and their wrath at the women's failure to oblige fell on the innocent villagers. While committing these crimes the courts of justice were carefully avoided.[84] Abandoning all sense of decency and human dignity, they even "forcibly entered into houses where there were handsome women :—wives, daughters, or daughters-in-law of citizens, and ravished them."[85] Under the evil spell of intoxication by wine, they indulged in indecent behaviour in public places. The people were forced to part with their rice, and subjected to increased rates of taxation.[86] However, the nadir of wantonness was reached when these wicked government servants "besmeared the villagers with *ghee* and made lamps of them at the junctions of roads by placing them in vessels full of oil and setting fire to them ; and the flame rose a as if in laughter."[87]

Reports of these heinous crimes reached the Sultan who sent repeated injunctions to Adam Khan to desist. The Sultan could not take any other measure for the time being as he was ailing. Adam Khan, far from obeying the king's commands, rose in open revolt at the instigation of his evil advisers. Adam Khan marched on the capital (Zainanagari) and encamped at a striking distance from the Sultan. Zain-ul-Abidin was caught unawares. Although still successful in making a hurried collection of his troops to meet the eventuality, the Sultan preferred to resolve the crisis by politic measures in a bid to save the capital from commotion. The king succeeded in his strategy and Adam Khan withdrew from the city with his troops to

Kramarajya without a fight.[88] We learn from Srivara that, having completely lost faith in Adam Khan, the Sultan wrote a letter in his own hand to Haji to return promptly and assist him against Adam : "O son ! Calamities have befallen me which I find it difficult to surmount ; my life is in danger, and I have no other help but in you. As soon as you read my letter, sit up at once if you were sleeping, stand up if you were seated, run if you were standing. What more need be said in this matter ? If you come without delay, and without minding the the trouble which bad news may cause, truly your desire will be realised in full. But if you do not arrive here speedily while I am yet alive though distracted, there will be no use in your coming to me after I am dead."[89] Nizamuddin corroborates it by stating that the Sultan invited Haji Khan "with great quickness."[90] The Sultan's apprehension came true when Adam Khan launched an attack on Suyyapura.[91] The governor of the place, Nottha Bhatta, engaged him in a battle but was defeated and killed and the city was laid in ruins.[92] The Sultan, in the meantime, came to know of Adam Khan's attack on Suyyapur and sent a strong military contingent to repulse it. A fierce battle followed with heavy casualties on both sides. Srivara also speaks of the terror-stricken people drowning themselves in the lake. The army of Adam Khan was routed and many of his soldiers were slain in the retreat. While crossing the river Jehlam in their flight, the bridge collapsed, and three hundred of Adam Khan's finest soliders perished in the waters. Many of his followers deserted him. In the meantime, Zain-ul-Abidin left his capital and joined the royal forces at Suyyapur. On his way, he heard the agonies of the people and comforted them.

Adam Khan, after his defeat at the hands of the royal forces, encamped on the other side of the Jehlam, and began looking for another round of confrontation. It was right at this juncture that Haji Khan, obeying the command of his father, arrived with his army in the vicinity of Baramula by way of Punch. Bahram Khan was deputed by the king to receive his elder brother at Baramula.[93] Frightened with these developments, Adam Khan fled along with the remnants of his troops and followers to the principality of Sindhu across the river Indus.[94] The date given by Srivara for the battle of Suyyapura and

Adam Khan's flight is the *Laukika* year 4533 which corresponds to 1457 A.D.[95] While Adam Khan found safety in flight, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin returned to the capital accompanied with his old favourite Haji Khan whom he proclaimed his heir-apparent in place of Adam Khan.[96]

THE LAST PHASE

Soon Zain-ul-Abidin showered his affections and favours on Haji Khan, for we have the testimony of Srivara that "there was not a shrine where the king went, not a journey which he undertook, not a festive performance which he attended in which he was not accompanied by Hajya Khan (Haji Khan)."[97] The latter participated with his father in the *Chaitra* festival of flowers in the midst of great rejoicings. It was also converted into a fit occasion for celebrating Haji's return to Kashmir by bestowing special favours. "The king," Srivara writes, "shed tears of joy for having got back his son ; and showered gold on the learned, singers, and the servants."[98] The Sultan showed an extraordinary gesture by paying travelling expenses to people who came to witness the occasion from distant places. They returned with presents of cloths of silk.[99] The Sultan presented Haji on this occasion with a belt fixed with a dagger of gold.[100] His followers, who had remained loyal to him during his sojourn in other parts of India, were given high places by the Sultan on Haji's recommendation. They were assigned *jagirs* and given *Khilats* as a mark of favour.[101] Haji Khan, on his part, "endeavoured to atone for his misconduct by assiduity and attention to his father in old age."[102]

There was complete harmony between father and his sons during the next six years for we know from Srivara that both Haji Khan and Bahram Khan accompanied the Sultan on pilgrimage to the Hindu shrines of Vijayesvara and Naubandhana hill in 1463 A. D.[103] But later, Haji Khan took to excessive drinking and his promises to the father that he would give it up were broken sooner than they were made.[104] As a result, Haji Khan suffered from dysentery,[105] and grew considerably weak and emaciated. The Sultan became sad for he was excessively attached to his son.[106] The king had grown old and his age also stood in his way of performing kingly duties. To Haji Khan increasingly fell the duty of transacting all public business[107] which his deteriorating health could scarcely afford. The result was a wide-spread confusion in the government.[108] While Zain-ul-Abidin doted on Haji Khan, his ministers, left with no other choice, sent secret communications to Adam Khan inviting him to Kashmir.[109] Quick came the response. Hearing of his entry into Kashmir, Haji Khan moved out from the capital to intercept him, while his son Hasan Khan, the Viceroy of Lohara, advanced from Parnotsa (Punch) to engage Adam Khan's forces at Andarkot in a fierce battle.[110] The immediate reaction of the Sultan was one of complete indifference but soon, it appears, he issued orders for disengagement, for when Adam Khan went straight to the royal palace, he found both his younger brothers, Haji and Bahram, at the gate.[111] Displeased with Adam, Zain-ul-Abidin refused to forgive him and even expressed his annoyance to the ministers[112] obviously for their invitation which the Sultan had every means of knowing. However, they made peace, swearing in the name of Allah, in the Sultan's presence, to maintain it. Adam Khan was honoured.[113] What transpired between the three brothers is not recorded in the chronicles. But one thing is certain, that it was only a truce, a diplomatic lull before a decisive conflict. The people had misgivings about them ; they foresaw the impending doom.[114] Adam Khan utilised this period of truce by carrying on intrigues with the nobles against Haji Khan, wishing to be declared again an heir-apparent, "a measure to which he could not induce the chiefs to accede without the king's assent."[115]

Zain-ul-Abidin, on the other hand, viewing their alliance with suspicion and anticipating mischief, made frantic efforts to win over Bahram completely to his side. But Bahram refused to be exclusively aligned with him against his brothers.[116] The Sultan was thoroughly disgusted and the problem of the management of public affairs constantly agitated his mind. Concerned at the Sultan's failing health due to age, the ministers and nobles suggested to him to bestow the kingdom on one of the princes who was more favourably inclined towards him.[117] It virtually amounted to a suggestion for abdication in favour of a more reliable son, and the argument they advanced was that it would put an end to their quarrels for the throne, and that both he and his subjects would be saved from the avoidable trouble.[118] Though they did not recommend any one in particular, their pro-Adam stance, besides their earlier invitation to him, is strongly reflected in the reference they made to Manikyadeva, the ruler of Jammu who, they said, "powerful on account of his wealth, would hear of the newly-appointed king, and might turn an enemy and soon cause destruction in the kingdom (Kashmir)."[119] This reference was obviously meant to convey to the king that Manikyadeva would intervene on behalf of Adam Khan if his claim to the throne was ignored. Manikyadeva was Adam's maternal-uncle. Besides, it appears, Adam was married to one of the Jammu princesses, for we know from Srivara in a later reference that after Adam's death, while fighting against the Turks on behalf of Manikyadeva, his son Fath Khan was brought up by the Jammu ruler.[120] The Sultan spurned their suggestion. Explaining his reasons he said : "The eldest (Adam) has superior qualifications, but he is a miser, and has therefore no worthy servants who can consolidate a kingdom. The second (Haji) is very liberal, but his expenses are so great that if he had gold as high as the Pradyumna hill (Hari Parvat), there would not be one *Karsha* (equal to about 280 grains troy) of it left. The youngest (Bahram) is wickedly inclined and addicted to vice, he would soon ruin the court. I do not consider any of them to be a good and worthy son. I will not bestow the kingdom on any ; he who is strongest will get it when I am dead ; this is my purpose. Who will appreciate my worth unless many perish in the conflict after I am gone ? Men will then appreciate my peaceful reign."[121]

The Sultan also turned down the ridiculous advice of his ministers to exhaust the vast treasure that he had accumulated, and to leave nothing for his sons whom he regarded as worthless. Full treasury, the Sultan argued, would keep them satiated and save his subjects from their financial oppression. The king was absolutely clear on this point, for he had no faith in his sons. He had perceived, and rightly so, that the kingdom which he had reared up with such paternal care and affection was not safe in their hands. The ministers were silenced,[122] but there was no dearth of mischief makers who went into action by holding nefarious meetings.[123] The chief among them was Bahram Khan. He sowed the seeds of discord by various acts of treachery and duplicity which widened the gulf between Haji and Adam. The two brothers then joined hands to plan the destruction of Adam, for they wrongly suspected their father to have called him from exile for his protection against them.[124] Frightened by the sinister combination of his brothers, Adam sought his father's protection but was dismissed as a coward.[125] Thereupon, he fled to Qutb-ud-dinpur and kept himself watchful of the moves of his brothers.[126]

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was, on the other hand, fighting a losing battle both against man and against nature. As he declined mentally and physically, his grip over men and matters in the State began to slip. His followers began to desert him in the midst of adversity. The sons of his nurse, Hasan Thakur and Husain Thakur, who had basked in the royal favours all through their lives, were among the first to defect to Haji Khan. Intrigues and duplicity were rampant. The whole atmosphere was surcharged with the activities of vicious men who attended the Sultan in the day time and participated in intrigues at Haji's camp at night.[127] The king's sovereign powers seemed to dissolve in chaos. "The people", Srivara writes, "came to the palace unopposed and uttered words such as had never been uttered before, and spoke of things such as had never been seen or heard of before."[128] The State officials ceased to execute his orders.[129] His memory faded considerably for "when the servants did perform the duties ordered by the king, he would declare that he did not remember what he had ordered."[130] He became so incapacitated that he left everything in the hands of his treacherous ministers who received pay from both sides. The suspicious gloom, Srivara records, was so intense that no official or minister or the king slept in peace on account of mutual fear.[131] Zain-ul-Abidin was thoroughly fed up, and often expressed his desire to escape from the tortures of life and find peace in death. He expressed his mental agony through a work entitled "*Shikayat*" which he composed in Persian. It dealt with the vanity of all objects.[132] The work is not extant. Srivara often consoled him by his readings from the Hindu scriptures which the Sultan listened to with rapt attention.[133]

As a precautionary measure against the possibility of a revolt, the king's loyal ministers artificially raised and seated Zain-ul-Abidin on an elevated spot at times in that wretched condition at the palace gate in the midst of elephants and horses and the beating of the drums. It was intended to convey to the people the false impression that the king was recovering. But this practice was dropped for the king's ailment became serious and he went into a coma.[134] Srivara records: "The physicians did not know the cause nor the symptoms of his illness, but I think he took the vow of fasting in order to get himself rid of his affliction."[135]

As the king lay dying, his sons became active again in their efforts to seize the throne. Bahram advised Haji at once to seize the Royal Stable, but the repentent Haji did not move into action, and spent the night in grief by the side of his father.[136] However, Hasan, the Treasurer, who was Haji's staunch supporter, obtained a promise of allegiance to Haji from all the ministers and nobles on the same night.[137] As the news of his father's death reached Adam Khan at Qutb-ud-dinpur, he made a hurried attack on the capital, but failed to display energy and was promptly driven back. His failure to kill the guard and capture the Royal Stable, Srivara records, deprived him of his sure chance of seizing the kingdom. Haji, in the meantime, on the advice of Hasan, took possession of the Stable.[138] This clinched the issue in his favour and his men entered the palace. Alarmed at the receipt of this news, Adam fled from Qutb-ud-dinpur, and in the hot chase by Haji that followed many of Adam's soldiers were slain.[139] Adam Khan, however, escaped to Vishulata through the Tarabala route.[140] In the meantime, Haji's son, Hasan Khan, coming from Parnotsa, reinforced his father's position[141] and Haji Khan ascended the throne three day's after the death of Zain-ul-Abidin.[142]

We learn from Srivara that Zain-ul-Abidin breathed his last after a rule of fifty-two years, on Friday, the 12th May, 1470 at the age of sixty-nine.[143] A wave of intense sorrow engulfed the whole kingdom. Srivara writes: "No one cooked his food that day, no smoke arose from the houses, all were dumb with grief and breathless."[144] When his dead body was being carried by the weeping ministers to *Mazar-i-Salatin*, all sides resounded with incessant lamentations of the citizens.[145] He was buried by the side of his father.[146] Inscribed with verses, a shining crystal stone was placed on his grave. It was the highest of all stones standing there on the graves of his predecessors.[147] Nothing of the slab remains now. But the fact that he was buried by the side of his father, Sultan Sikandar, has helped us to identify the grave of this illustrious monarch.

One of grief and tumult, the closing years of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign thus constitute the dismal period of an otherwise glorious chapter in the history of Kashmir. For the miseries of this period, the Sultan is partly himself to blame. His policy of indecision, and the conspicuous lack of firmness, prolonged the issue to an unreasonable extent with all its attendant evils. Once having fixed the succession on Haji Khan, he did not stick to it, and no sooner he felt annoyed with him he withdrew it. He failed to deal with his rebellious sons with a strong hand. While fighting against his son, he would instruct his military commander to take care of him and be kind to him. The language they understood was not the language of a kind and affectionate father, but of a brute determined to put them down with a heavy hand. This realisation had dawned upon him once at the conclusion of the first phase, but he could not stick to it, for consistency had never been his strong point while dealing with his sons. His softness towards them allowed the war to rage unabated when his firm handling would have prevented many of the ills which plagued his closing years.

REFERENCES

1. *Baharistan.*, p. 49.
2. The name Dardistan is a hybrid between the "*Darada*" of Sanskrit works and a Persian termination "*Istan*". Situated between the Hindukush and Kaghan ranges, 37°N and long. 73°E and lat. 35°N and long. 74° 30′ E, it comprised the small mountain states of Chitral, Yasin and Kafiristan, Gilgit, Astor, Bunji, Chilas, Darel, Hunza and Nagar : (Leitner, *Dardistan*, pp. 49, 58).
3. Kalhana, I. i, 312, v, 152, vii, 119, 167, 171, 174, 176, 375, 1711 Sqq., viii, 209, 211, 614, 2454, 2709, 2764 Sqq., 2842-97.
4. Azizuddin, *Tarikh-i-Chitral*, p. 26 ; Robertson, *Chitral*, pp. 7, 9, 10.
5. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 141 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 47. Parmu has, on the basis of some resemblance in names, identified Langar Chak with Alankarachakra of Kalhana, a feudal chief greatly

hostile to the king of Kashmir, Jayasimha (1128-1155 A.D.) : (p. 247). There is no reason for disputing the authority of these chroniclers. Kalhana's references to Alankarachakra nowhere suggest that he was a foreigner of Dardic origin : (II, viii, 2482, 2520, 2568, 2598, etc.).

6. Firishta, p. 454 ; J.A.S.B., Vol. 54, (1885), p. 99.
7. The *Chaks* were, it appears, still non-Muslims when they came to Kashmir as the names of their early leaders like Langar Chak, Pandu Chak, Shankar Chak suggest : (cf. Parmu, p. 249).
8. *Baharistan.*, p. 49 ; Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 140-41. For identification of Trahgam with Trigumma in the Lolab Valley, see Appendix—A (vi).
9. Jonaraja, St. 872 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 49. Dutt's translation of Jonaraja's chronicle wrongly has Snangiri for Zainagiri (p. 87). Parmu's contention (p. 248) that the little island of Zainalank with a complex of buildings was constructed also for the same purpose is not convincing. A peaceful abode where the Sultan frequently went and sat for hours for worship and meditation could never be intended to have been a watch-station : (*Tuzuk.*, I, p. 94).
10. *Baharistan.*, p. 49.
11. While ignoring the faults of the *Chaks*, the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is sometimes unduly appreciative of their achievements. Perhaps the only plausible explanation that can be given is that he was a Shi'ite and when he wrote his work the *Chaks* had become *Nurbakhshiyas* with pronounced Shi'ite leanings.
12. For details of the *Chak* rebellion see *Baharistan.*, pp. 49-50.
13. Srivara, 1, i, St. 40. A village after the name of Pandu Chak still survives about five miles to the south-east of Srinagar in memory of the brave Chak leader.
14. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 102.
15. For a detailed account of their rule, see Parmu, pp. 239 Sqq. ; Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 145 Sqq.
16. *Baharistan.*, pp. 40, 43-44.
17. Parmu mentions that Zain-ul-Abidin's eldest son, Adam Khan, enlisted the support of the rebellious *Chaks* against his father : (pp. 168-69). The references that he quotes from Srivara and *Baharistan-i-Shahi* do not suggest this at all.
18. *Baharistan.*, pp. 25-26, 31. For a discussion on this point, see Appendix-D.
19. *Baharistan.* : (Vide Mohibbul Hasan, p. 81).
20. There is an inscription on the tomb-stone of one Haibat Khan Qarlagh in *Mazar-i-Bahauddin.* He is mentioned as the son of

Zain-ul-Abidin's daughter and the grandson of Sultan Alauddin Qarlagh of Pakhli.

21. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 86.
22. Srivara, I, i. Stt. 57-59.
23. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 104.
24. Ibid., 1, iii, Stt. 63, 65-68.
25. Ibid., St. 68.
26. Ibid., St. 119.
27. Haji Khan's subsequent behaviour reveals these traits of character.
28. Srivara, (Dutt), pp. 131-32.
29. Ibid , 1, vii, Stt. 56-58.
30. Ibid., St. 155 ; Nizamuddin, p. 670.
31. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 2.
32. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 104.
33. Nizamuddin, p. 660.
34. Sayyid Ali, f. 15a,
35. Nizamuddin, p. 660.
36. Jonaraja, Stt. 759-60.
37. Nizamuddin, p. 660. Srivara also mentions his elevation to the status of heir-apparent : (1, iii, St. 117).
38. Srivara, 1, i, St. 83 ; Firishta, p. 471 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 662-63.
39. Srivara, 1, i, St. 64.
40. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 104-105.
41. Ibid., Stt. 71, 82-83.
42. Nizamuddin, p. 663 ; Firishta, p. 471.
43. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 106.
44. Ibid., 1, i, St. 82 ; Nizamuddin, p. 663.
45. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 86, 87, 89.
46. Ibid., Stt. 87, 88, 92.
47. Ibid., Stt. 94 Sqq.
48. Ibid., St. 84 ; Nizamuddin, p. 663 ; Firishta, p. 471.
49. Srivara, I, i, Stt. 86, 91, 107. Srivara mentions Surapura road which represents the Pir Panjal route : (See Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 394).
50. Ibid., St. 91.
51. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 108.
52. Ibid., 1, i, Stt. 111-13.
53. Ibid., St. 114. Suprasamana was a small distinct *Pargana* until recent times in the west and north-west of Shupiyan : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 472).
54. Ibid., Stt. 115 Sqq.
55. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 127-28. Rajanak, mentioned a little earlier as the *Pratihara*, it appears, was replaced by Abhimanyu for his disloyalty to the king.
56. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 110-111. Also see Firishta (p. 472) and Nizamuddin (p. 663).
57. Ibid., 1, i, Stt. 133-39.
58. Ibid., St. 140 ; Nizamuddin, p. 664.
59. Srivara, 1, i, St. 141.
60. Ibid., Stt. 155, 160, 162 ; Firishta, pp. 472-73 ; Nizamuddin, p. 664.
61. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 112.

62. Ibid., 1, i, Stt. 152-53, 161-63, ii, Stt. 1-2.

63. Ibid., i, St. 164. Surapura is survived in the modern village of Hurapor (Hirapura) referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kashmir from Rajapuri and the neighbouring places : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 394).

64. Ibid., St. 169 ; Firishta, p. 472 ; Nizamuddin, p. 664.

65. Nizamuddin, p. 664. 66. Srivara, (Dutt), pp. 114-15

67. Ibid. 68. Nizamuddin, p. 664.

69. Firishta, p. 472. 70. Nizamuddin, p. 664.

71. Firishta, p. 472. He mentions the fort of Gujraj which is a transcriptional error for Kamraj (Kramarajya).

72. Ibid. 73. Srivara, 1, ii, Stt. 1-2.

74. Ibid., St. 5, iii, St. 65 ; Firishta, p. 472.

75. Nizamuddin, pp. 665-66 ; Srivara, 1, ii, St. 3, iii, St. 65.

76. Srivara, 1, ii, St. 5. Firishta (p. 472) and Nizamuddin (p. 665) mention six years which is incorrect : (See Appendix B-v).

77. Srivara, 1, ii, St. 3. 78. Ibid., iii, St. 65.

79. Ibid., ii, St. 4.

80. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 125-26. Firishta (p. 472) and Nizamuddin (p. 666) also refer to his maladministration and various acts of oppression.

81. Ibid., 1, iii, St. 67. 82. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 126.

83. Ibid., 1, iii, St. 69. 84. Ibid., St. 70.

85. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 126. 86. Ibid, 1, iii, Stt. 73-74.

87. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 126-27.

88. For details see Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 77-86 ; Firishta, p. 472 ; Nizamuddin, p. 666.

89. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 128. 90. Nizamuddin, p. 666.

91. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 91 ; Nizamuddin, p. 667.

92. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 92. Nizamuddin also mentions Adam's engagement with the governor without naming him : (p. 667). Firishta refers to the destruction of the city without mentioning the encounter between Adam Khan and the governor of Suyyapura : (p. 473).

93. For these details, see Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 95 Sqq. ; Nizamuddin, pp. 667-68 ; Firishta, p. 473.

94. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 114. Nizamuddin (p. 668) and Firishta (p. 473) also mention his flight to the Indus region. For identification of the country of Sindhu with the north-western region of Gandhara, see Appendix A—(iii).

95 Vide Appendix B—(v).

96. Srivara, 1, iii, St. 117 ; Nizamuddin, p, 667.

97. Srivara, (Dutt), pp. 131-32. 98. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 137.

99. Ibid., 1, iv, St. 53. 100. Ibid., St. 49.

101. Ibid., Stt. 49-51

102. Firishta, p. 473 ; Nizamuddin, p. 668. Also see Srivara, 1, iv, Stt. 45-49.

103. Sriara, 1, v, Stt. 88-89, 95-96.
104. Ibid., vii, Stt. 74-76. A classic piece of advice by Zain-ul-Abidin to Haji Khan against drinking is recorded by Srivara : (Stt. 58 Sqq.)
105. Nizamuddin, p. 667. 106. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 57, 74.
107. Firishta, p. 473. 108. Nizamuddin, p. 669.
109. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 77 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 669-70 ; Firishta, p. 473.
110. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 78, 80-81. Srivara's Androtkot is meant for Andarkot which is survived in the small village of the same name, situated on the Sambal lake, 74° 42′ long. 34° 13′ lat. : (Stein, *R. T.*, I, iv, 506-511n).
111. Ibid., Stt. 79, 82-83.
112. Firishta, p. 473 ; Nizamuddin, p. 670.
113. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 83-84 ; Nizamuddin, p. 670.
114. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 84-85. 115. Firishta, pp. 473-74.
116. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 88 Sqq.
117. Ibid., Stt. 99-100, 106 ; Nizamuddin, p. 670.
118. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 100. 119. Ibid., (Dutt). p. 162.
120. Ibid., pp. 194, 309. 121. Ibid., 162-63.
122. Ibid., 1, vii. Stt. 119-27. 123. Nizamuddin, p. 670.
124. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 155 158, 164 ; Nizamuddin, p. 670.
125. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 159.
126. Ibid., St. 162 ; Nizamuddin, p. 670.
127. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 147, 152.
128. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 168. 129. Ibid., 1, vii, St. 167.
130. Ibid, (Dutt), p. 169. 131. Ibid., 1, vii, Stt. 166, 169.
132. Ibid., Stt. 145-46, 176. 133. Ibid., Stt. 133 Sqq.
134. Ibid., Stt. 190-91 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 670-71.
135. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 171. 136. Ibid., 1, vii, Stt. 191-93.
137. Ibid., St. 196. Nizamuddin mentions the name of the Treasurer as Hasan Kachhi : (p. 671). *Kachhi* is the corruption of *Kosesa* (Sanskrit) meaning "the treasurer."
138. Srivara, 1, vii. Stt. 198-200, 204 ; Nizamuddin, p. 671.
139. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 204-5. According to Nizamuddin, Zain Badr, one of Haji's trusted chiefs, pursued Adam Khan in retreat : (p. 672).
140. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 205. The hill-district Vishulata is identified with Banihal : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, viii, 177n). By Tarabala route is then obviously meant the Banihal Pass.
141. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 208 ; Nizamuddin, p. 672.
142. Srivara, 2, St. 3 ; Nizamuddin, p. 672.
143. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 216, 221-25.
144. Ibid., (Dutt), pp. 178-79. 145. Ibid., Stt. 226-28.
146. Ibid., St. 231 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 54 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 20a.
147. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 256.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

The period of half-a-century of comparative peace in Kashmir, the credit for which must go to Zain-ul-Abidin, was remarkable as much for administrative efficiency, religious tolerance, and cultivation of extensive foreign contacts, as for the cultural exuberance and socio-economic progress. The Sultan's was a many-sided genius, and he a man of varied interests. There was hardly any aspect of life which did not attract his meticulous attention. If anything or anyone he thought would be useful and enrich his kingdom—a maunscript or a scholar, an art or a craft, an artist or a craftsman, a carpet or a pattern of cloth, a style of music, a musical instrument or a musician, a technical device or an expertise—he would secure the same from any part of the oriental world, be it Egypt, Persia, Iraq, Gilan, Mecca or Khurasan or be it Gujarat, Malwa, Saurashtra, Mewar or Gwalior. He left behind a definite cultural tradition with the imperishable stamp of his personality which endures even to this day. The tradition is so deep-rooted that anything worthy of note one finds in Kashmir today is associated by the people, rightly or wrongly, with none but this illustrious monarch. And any one who knows the kind of Sultan he was would scarcely venture to dispute it. The social life stood considerably enriched in his time and Kashmir attained the level of material prosperity which had hitherto been unprecedented. Seldom in history has a ruler contributed so much to the cultural and social life of the people as did Zain-ul-Abidin.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION

Existence of Castes

The Hindu society in ancient Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, was organised on caste basis.[1] It, however, experienced a violent shake-up during the period of Sultan Sikandar and of

Ali Shah. There is a well known tradition that of the entire Hindu population, only eleven families of *Brahmanas*, who steadfastly clung to their religion, survived the severe persecutions of Sikandar's reign.[2] It may be surmised, as a natural corollary, that the members of all other castes practically disappeared from Kashmir by embracing Islam under duress or by escaping to other places. But it does not represent the whole truth, for we find some references to the existence of other castes in Zain-ul-Abidin's time. Unfortunately, Zain-ul-Abidin's official chroniclers, Jonaraja and Srivara, had an instinctive complex of superiority from which they suffered as a class of *Brahmanas*, and their vision was too narrow to permit them to consider it worthwhile to take note of the hopes and aspirations, the woes and sorrows, of people belonging to the lower strata of the society of their time. However, the restricted use of expressions like *varnashrama* and *chaturavarna*, and a reference to *Sudra* women[3] establish the existence of the four castes to whom Zain-ul-Abidin extended protection as if they were his own children. Their existence is corroborated by Ganak Prashast, who mentions the *Brahmanas*, the *Ksatriyas*, the *Vaisyas* and the *Sudras*, while describing their complexions and the differences in food habits.[4] Their complexions, he states, varied from white, red, pale and to dark respectively[5]. Srivara also speaks of the existence of low-caste men[6], besides his repeated references to *Rajputs* and *Brahmanas* and their achievements. The social system of the Hindus in Kashmir was thus caste-ridden, but it was not as rigid as it was in other parts of India.

The *Brahmanas* as a community occupied a position of privilege and respect. The period of their eclipse came under Sikandar and Ali Shah, when they became the worst sufferers. They were, however, rehabilitated and elevated to their former position under Zain-ul-Abidin. They enjoyed facilities and privileges of all kinds. They received *jagirs* and occupied the highest offices in the State. They served as royal physicians and astrologers, ministers, diplomatic envoys, and judges.[7] Patronised by the Sultan, many of them lived in *mathas* or hermitages with villages and lands endowed to them for their maintenance.[8] Srivara refers to the foundation of numerous cities by Zain-ul-Abidin where *Brahmanas* lived in dignity and comfort.[9] They also performed religious functions and were the conscience-keepers of the Hindu population.

The *Rajputs* mentioned by Jonaraja and Srivara should be classified with the *Ksatriya* caste. They were chiefly employed in the armed forces, for every specific reference made to them is to be found in the context of fighting. True to their tradition, they were brave, and were employed in the Sultan's army as soldiers and captains.[10] Svarna Seha and Ganga were the *Rajputs* who died a martyre's death while engaged in suppressing the rebellion of Haji Khan against his father in the battle of Mallasila.[11]

Although Zain-ul-Abidin's reign was characterised by a lot of commercial and industrial activity, we do not find any specific reference to the association of the *Vaisya* community with it. The only possible and natural inference is that the people of other castes were also engaged in trade and commerce.

Among the low-caste people mentioned as existing in Zain-ul-Abidin's time were the *Dombas*, *Chandalas*, and *Kiratas*. Jonaraja refers to *Dombas* as thieves, fettered in chains, and forced by the Sultan to work for cremating the dead.[12] It has an obvious reference to Sikandar's ban on the Hindu practice of cremating the dead.[13] The ban naturally deprived the *Dombas* of their means of livelihood and they took to stealing.[14] When, however, Zain-ul-Abidin restored the custom,[15] the need of their services arose and they were rounded up, chained, and forced to pursue their ancient occupation. We learn more about the details of their occupation through Kalhana, who describes them as huntsmen, singers, and dancers.[16] They also worked as watchmen and village-menials.[17] Like the *Dombas*, the *Chandalas* were also low-caste men who had taken to stealing and whom Zain-ul-Abidin reformed and rehabilitated so that they could work on land and live by agriculture.[18] Kalhana also mentions them as robbers.[19] In earlier days, they had also worked as watchmen.[20] We have no evidence to show weather they were even then Hindus, or some or all of them had been converted to Islam. Anand Kaul's statement that they, as a class, embraced Islam and were appointed to go round as spies by Zain-ul-Abidin[21] is a mere exercise in speculation. In view of the references of Jonaraja, Srivara and Ganak, testifying to the existence of the *Sudra* caste people, we may safely conclude that many of the *Dombas* and *Chandalas* still clung to their ancient faith. Another class of lowly people was those of the *Kiratas* mentioned as being associated with the performance of the funeral rites of the Hindus. They were punished by Zain-ul-Abidin for exacting money from people for the cremation of the dead.[22] The *Kiratas* of ancient India have been categorised racially with the Mongoloid type belonging to the Sino-Tibetan group of speech.[23] Hiuen Tsang's mention of Ki-lo-to, a low-caste people of Kashmir,[24] is probably meant for *Kiratas*.[25] Kalhana refers to them as people living in forests and hunting wild animals by "raising jungle-fires and by constructing traps."[26] However, in Zain-ul-Abidin's time they formed an integral part of Kashmir's urban life. From the tenor of Srivara's text it appears that all, or most of them had become Muslims.[27]

CLASSES OF PEOPLE

We come across different classes of people who flourished in Zain-ul-Abidin's time. Their categories were determined by the racial, religious as well as socio-economic factors. They were both of indigenous and of foreign origin, and they ranged from urban and landed aristocratic classes down to the peasantry and tribal groups.

THE NOBILITY

At the top of the social pyramid were the Sultan and the royal family. Next came the nobility, consisting of the highest administrative, judicial, and military officials, the Royal Physicians and Astrologers, Poet Laureates, and distinguished men of letters and musicians. They were the most privileged people, and constituted the upper class of the Kashmiri society. They were not a homogeneous body but were drawn from different religious and ethnic groups and tribes like the *Magres*, the *Brahmanas* and the *Damaras* of Kashmir, the *Thakurs* of southern hill-states, the *Baihaqi Sayyids* and others of Persia, Turkistan, and Central Asian states. They received large *jagirs* in lieu of salary.[28] Any ordinary man could find his way up into the select band of nobility by sheer dint of valour and ability. Darya Khan rose from humble beginnings to become one of the most influential ministers of Zain-ul-Abidin.[29] The nobility formed an effective instrument of efficiency in the hands of Zain-ul-Abidin. The Sultan had, however, the necessary prudence and strength to circumscribe their authority within reasonable limits, and never allowed himself to be dominated by them even in his old and difficult days. We have instances on record when he effectively spurned the persistent advice of his nobles to abdicate in favour of one of his sons, and rejected their suggestion regarding the mode of disposal of the Royal Treasure.[30] As individuals, the nobles were gifted men, and were a source of encouragement to the talented people. They contributed in a large measure to the social and cultural life of the kingdom. However, the organisation of nobility was such that it could hardly constitute itself into a source of strength for the State at a time when the crown was weak. The defects of its heterogeneous character and feudal basis so sharply manifested themselves within two decades of the Sultan's death that the kingdom was thrown into complete political confusion and turmoil.

THE BUREAUCRACY

Next to the nobility in the official hierarchy was the bureaucracy comprising numerous subordinate officials of all descriptions — down to the lowest cadre. The early Sanskrit writers have used *Kayastha* as a general term denoting every member of this official class[31] ; it, however, does not figure in the works of Jonaraja and Srivara. Jonaraja uses the term *Rajasthaniyas*[32] which, according to Stein, stands for State officials.[33] There are frequent references to these people as monuments of corruption and greed in ancient Kashmir,[34] and well into the early years of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign. However, this aspect engaged the serious attention of the Sultan who rooted out corrupt practices and iniquitous exactions.[35] They were well paid in his time, for Srivara speaks of them as a prosperous class.[36]

THE DAMARAS AND THE LAVANYAS

The *Damaras* and the *Lavanyas* constituted the traditional landed aristocracy. The word *Damara* is peculiar to Kashmir. Etymologically, it is taken to mean "riotous" or "rebel."[37] In the beginning it appears to have been a tribal name for the indigenous riotous tribes. But later, it came to be applied to denote a class of people having the characteristics of the turbulent *Damaras*.[38]

The term *Lavanya*, derived from the word "*Lavana*" meaning "reaping", may "signify the original reaping or agricultural profession of the *Lavanyas*."[39] Like the *Damaras*, the *Lavanyas* became an influential section of the agricultural population, and were classed with the *Damara* tribe.[40] This explains the reason why Kalhana has indiscriminately used the terms *Damara* and *Lavanya*, for the same people in his *Rajatarangini*. These labels have survived today in the two separate caste-names *Lons* (*Lavanyas*) and *Dars* (*Damaras*).[41] As powerful feudal land owners and barons, the *Damaras* were instruments of anarchy in ancient Kashmir. Kalhana speaks of them with hatred and scorn.[42] However, in Zain-ul Abidin's time, *Damaras* were associated with the administration of the kingdom, and occupied high official positions as ministers and administrators. Kanch Damara was the capital's City-Perfect, an exceedingly important assignment.[43] Phirya Damara, a trusted minister of Haji Khan during his viceroyalty of Lohara, displayed loyalty and good sense by advising the prince not to proceed against his father, although it would have brought him greater honours and prospects had the prince been successful in his misdirected adventure.[44] The *Lavanyas* were rich and prosperous people. Zain-ul-Abidin's eldest son Adam Khan is reported to have purposely cultivated friendship with the *Lavanyas* and misappropriated the wealth of many of them by having recourse to deception.[45]

THE ULAMA

The term *Ulama* denotes a body of learned men well versed in the questions of Islamic law, constitution, and theology.[46] They enjoyed official status and were maintained by the State.[47] In Kashmir, as elsewhere in the Muslim countries, they were either controlled by the government or kept the government under a certain awe, depending upon the capacity and ideology of the rulers. Under Sikandar and Ali Shah, they exercised enormous influence on the government. Zain-ul-Abidin respected them, but never permitted their undue interference in the working of the government. He consulted them when necessary, but never hesitated to exercise his option to accept or reject their advice.[48] In fact, the Sultan did not recognise their monopoly of counselling, for there were influential non-Muslims also whom he equally valued and turned to for advice.[49] A Persian chronicler laments in a somewhat exaggerated tenor that far from counteracting the increasing popularity of Hindu customs and traditions, the *Ulama* themselves had begun to observe them.[50]

THE SAYYIDS

Like the *Brahmanas* in the Hindu society, the *Sayyids* were a highly respected class of Muslims in the medieval times. Driven out by upheavals in Persia and Central Asia, and attracted by the munificence of the Kashmir Sultans, the *Sayyids* poured into Kashmir in different groups,[51] received *jagirs*, and settled down there for good.[52] The part they played in the social, religious, and political life of the Valley was, indeed, significant. Under Zain-ul-Abidin, they exerted influence as *Qazis*, Viceroys, military commanders, and as men of piety and learning.[53] A group which came and rose to eminence and entered the ranks of the nobility in his time was that of the *Baihaqi Sayyids* of Sabzwar in Persia.[54] Zain-ul-Abidin's chief queen belonged to this family.[55] The role of the *Sayyids* in Kashmir was not all good. There are examples, though rare, in Zain-ul-Abidin's time, when they became arrogant, and degenerated into drunkards, and killed people under the spell of wine[56] or of excited temper.[57]

THE THAKURS

Thakur was a title applied to a small class of nobility, presumably the *Rajputs*, residing in the territories lying to the south of the Kashmir Valley.[58] Many of them were Muslims in Zain-ul-Abidin's time, as is suggested by their unmistakable Muslim names, such as Mir Thakur, Hasan Thakur, Husain Thakur, and so on. We have the testimony of Jahangir[59] that Islam was intorduced into the region on a large scale in the fourteenth century at the initiative of Sultan Firuz Tughluq of Delhi (1351-1388 A. D). As noted earlier, the *Thakurs* had been one of the most important allies of Zain-ul-Abidin when he had wrested the kingdom of Kashmir from his elder brother. In recognition of their services, the Sultan had bestowed upon them high offices and large *jagirs*.[60] And soon they had settled down in Kashmir and were transformed into a landed aristocracy, and merged into the ranks of the nobility.

THE MAGRES

The *Magres*, who played an important role in Kashmir politics under the later Shah Mirs, did not originally belong to any particular tribal or social group. *Magre* was the corruption of the Sanskrit word *Margesa*, an official label for the "guardian of the pass." In course of time it came to be commonly applied to a class of officials guarding the passes, and became a caste name that stuck as *Margesa* for the Sanskrit chroniclers,[61] and as *Magre*, its corrupt form, for the Persian writers.[62] They came into prominence for the first time as a class in the time of Sultan Shams-ud-din (1339-1342 A. D.), who recruited them in his army on a preferential basis.[63] One of Zain-ul-Abidin's commanders of repute, Muhammad Magre, belonged to this class, as the name suggests.[64]

THE DARADS AND THE CHAKS

The *Darads* were the tribal people inhabiting the high valleys lying to the immediate north of Kashmir. Kalhana has mentioned a number of inroads made by them into Kashmir over the centuries.[65] In course of time many of them migrated to and settled in the Valley. Srivara speaks of the *Darads* and their villages in Kashmir.[66] But he does not mention precisely the places of their habitation. However, he significantly states that the newly-constructed bridge called Zaina-Kadal in Srinagar was the tenth numerically in the way from the Darad villages to the capital city.[67] It obviously refers to the existence of the ten bridges which spanned the Jehlam from Zaina-Kadal to the Wular lake. The *Darad* villages may safely be placed around the south-eastern periphery of the Wular lake. The *Chaks* were one of the *Darad* tribes who found their way into Kashmir under Langar Chak in the reign of king Suhadeva.[68] They were raised into prominence by Sultan Shams-ud-din who recruited them along with the *Magres* exclusively in his army as soldiers and officers.[69] But subsequently they sank into oblivion only to be heard of again in Zain-ul-Abidin's reign as marauders organised under Pandu Chak. Initially they gave much trouble to the Sultan, but were ultimately thoroughly subjugated.[70]

THE KHASAS

The *Khasas* were the people occupying the hill-territories including Lohara and Rajauri to the south and south-west of Kashmir across the Pir Panjal range.[71] They played an increasing part in the politics of Kashmir as supporters of Haji Khan against Zain-ul-Abidin.[72] They have been identified with the modern *Khakhas*.[73]

THE KOKAL TASH TRIBE

It was one of the tribes inhabiting the frontier province of Naushahra. They were a turbulent people and it was with considerable difficulty that they were completely subjugated and reduced to obedience by Zain-ul-Abidin.[74]

BOATMEN

The existence of rivers and lakes in Kashmir afforded the people, as it does now, though in a lesser degree, sufficient scope for the movement of traffic along the waterways. The boatmen were thus an important class in the socio-economic life of the people. They were called *Dhivar*[75] or *Koorjian*.[76] Now called *Hanjis*, the boatmen constitute a distinctly different and a sizable section of Kashmir's population. They live in boats of different types and sizes,

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES

We do not possess sufficient data to project a complete social profile of the composition of occupational classes in Zain-ul-Abidin's time, yet an idea may be formed by piecing together the scattered evidence at our disposal. There are references to the construction of market places in the cities,[77] and to the existence of octroi posts on the borders,[78] which testify to a brisk flow of internal and external trade, and the growth of a flourishing trading class. Zain-ul-Abidin is credited with the introduction of several new industrial arts and the improvement of the extant ones. Associated with these were men proficient in different skills, pursuing different occupations, such as spinning and weaving, carpet-making, book-binding, paper-making, stone and glass works, plume-making, boat-making, window-cutting, gold-beating, and several others. We have also direct or indirect evidence of the existence of mid-wives, physicians, musicians, dancers, acrobats, teachers, scribes, and calligraphists,[79] fire-work makers,[80] miners,[81] butchers,[82] brick-layers,[83] potters,[84] gold-smiths,[85] gold-washers,[86] milk-men,[87] bhurja-leaf makers,[88] black-smiths,[89] brewers and wine vendors,[90] carpenters, masons and unskilled manual labourers.[91] Timber merchants must have been a prosperous class, for the wood formed the bulk of architectural material in Zain-ul-Abidin's time.

THE PEASANTRY

The process of urbanization was accelerated in Zain-ul-Abidin's time by the construction of numerous cities and the settlement of population therein. Yet from the tenor of accounts given by the chroniclers it is amply clear that the bulk of the population was still rural, and lived in the villages, being devoted to agriculture. The Sultan's chronicler puts the number of villages at sixty thousand.[92] It should, however, not be taken too literally, for this figure is used in a conventional sense in Indian literature, denoting high numbers.[93] On the basis of the existence of a large number of deserted village sites, and the uniform tradition of the people, Stein concludes that Kashmir had a much larger population in early times than at the time he translated Kalhana's *Rajatarangini.*[94] The peasants, though they suffered at times from floods and famines,[95] were, on the whole, made prosperous by a number of measures which the Sultan took to augment agricultural production as already noted in a previous Chapter. The Sultan anxiously looked after them in times of distress and comforted them.[96] But nothing seems to have been done to contribute to their social and cultural progress. They moved mutely along the traditional social groves, for there is no evidence to suggest any stride taken by them in this direction.

HINDU SAINTS AND YOGIS

The existence of numerous Hindu saints and *Yogis* was the manifestation of complete religious freedom allowed by Zain-ul-Abidin in Kashmir. There was an abode of hermits in a place called Siddhaksetra on the Dal Lake.[97] An anonymous Persian writer perhaps refers to the same place when he states that Zain-ul-Abidin constructed an alms-house for the *Yogis* on the Dal Lake.[98] The recluses also lived in caves after the fashion of the ancient saints. One cave hermitage of Zain-ul-Abidin's time is extant in Khonamuh, a village about nine miles south-east of Srinagar. Himself interested in *Yoga*, Zain-ul-Abidin patronised *Yogis*, and held them in profound respect.[99] For the purpose of living in close company of the *Yogis* occasionally, the Sultan built a township and a palace in the vicinity of Siddhaksetra and named it Siddhapuri.[100] The first son of the Sultan was believed to have been born due to the blessing of a *Yogi*.[101] The *Yogis* always received gifts of various articles from the Sultan.[102] Jonaraja mentions the arrival of Sanyasi Ramanand and his audience with Zain-ul-Abidin.[103] If Srikanth Kaul's identification is to be accepted, the *Sanyasi* was the celebrated *Vaishnava* reformer Ramanand of the *Bhakti* movement. He observes : "The introduction of the *Bhakti* movement in Kashmir appears to have been his motive. But he seems to have been unsuccessful owing to the ignorance of the *Brahmanas* about his mission."[104]

THE SUFIS

The Muslim mystics called *Sufis* were a class of holy men devoted to meditation and worship. They were looked upon with great veneration, and their influence on the social and religious life in medieval Kashmir was far greater than any other single factor. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was a great patron of the *Sufis*, and his kingdom was adorned by a galaxy of them celebrated alike for piety, simplicity, and learning. The beginning of the sufistic tradition in Kashmir should be traced to the early Muslim influences from outside. We have definite evidence of the establishment in Kashmir of at least two *Sufi* orders, namely, *Suhrawardiya*[105] and *Kubraviya*,[106] by the time of Zain-ul-Abidin's accession. The chief *Sufis* who flourished in his reign were Shaikh Baha-ud-din Mir Sayyid Muhammad Madani, Sayyid Hasan, Baba Adham, Baba Hasan Mantaqi, Mir Vais Baba, Baba Usman Ganai and Sayyid Hasan Bilad Rumi.[107] About some of these *Sufis*, certain details are available, while the rest are mere names.

Shaikh Baha-ud-din Kashmiri was one of the greatest mystics of his time. He was the *Pir* of the royal family.[108] A *Sufi* of supreme spiritual attainments and venerable dignity, his name is associated with the performance of several miracles.[109] Baba Haji Adham, another great *Sufi* of his time, has been reported to have remarked : "I presented myself in the service of venerated Shaikh Baha-ud-din. I found that he had attained the two stages of spiritual perfection (called *malakut* and *jarbut* in mystic phraseology) and had reached so exalted a place (in spiritual field) that he could be surpassed by none in his days."[110] Baha-ud-din was given a state funeral when he died[111] and was buried in the piece of land which Zain-ul-Abidin's queen had purchased from the proceeds of an ornament sold by her and which she had earmarked to be her burial place.[112] The cemetry lies at the foot of the Hari Parvat, and is known after the *Pir* as *Mazar-i-Baha-ud-din*.

Baba Haji Adham had migrated to Kashmir from Balkh in the reign of Sultan Sikandar along with a number of companions and disciples.[113] He was a close associate of yet another great *Sufi* — Shaikh Nur-ud-din.[114] Haji Adham had four disciples, the most distinguished of whom were Baba Hasan Mantaqi, and his son Baba Mir Vais.[115] Zain-ul-Abidin adopted Mir Vais as his son : Mir Vais grew up under the Sultan's temporal and Haji Adham's spiritual guidance into a man of piety and learning.[116] He was, however, slain as a sequel to a heated discussion by the haughty *Sayyids*.[117] The other disciple, Hasan Mantaqi, lies buried in the royal graveyard called *Mazar-i-Salatin*.[118] Another mystic was Mir Sayyid Muhammad Madani, who arrived with his family in Kashmir from Madina, in Sultan Sikandar's time. Several miracles and spiritual accomplishments are associated with his name. After his death, his tomb became a *ziarat* for the people.[119]

The most distinguished of all the *Sufis* was, however, Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi, the patron-saint of Kashmir, popularly called Nund Rishi. He dedicated himself to the life of renunciation and penance after the example of the Hindu saints of ancient days. His mode of life secured for him the epithet of *Rishi* which stuck to his name. The celebrated *Sufi* order which he established also came to be known as the *Rishi Silsilah*.[120] Though Baba Adham, whose associate he was, placed him third after Baha-ud-din and Sultan Kashmiri in spiritual excellence,[121] he is regarded today by the Kashmiris as the greatest and the most revered *Sufi* that Kashmir has produced. Shaikh Nur-ud-din was born in 1373 A.D.[122] in a village called Kaimuh, two miles west of Bijbihara. The name of his father is given as Salar Sanz, who had descended from the *Rajput* chiefs of Kishtwar. His ancestors had migrated to and permanently settled down in Kashmir. Nur-ud-din showed mystic tendencies from his early days and failed to come up in any profession. His failure elicited a harsh remark from his despairing mother, which drove him to renounce his home, wife, and children at the age of thirty. He is recorded to have lived for twelve years in a cave subsisting on jungle products. In his closing years, he self-immolated himself by fasting at the age of sixty-three in 1438 A.D.[123] Among the thousands of his admirers who attended his funeral was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin as well.[124]

Tsar-i-Sharif is a place about twenty miles in the south-west of Srinagar where the saint lies buried on a mound called Nafla Teng. It is now a *ziarat* of considerable celebrity which attracts to its fold thousands of people of the two communities — Hindus and Muslims — every year. It is, indeed, a lasting monument and a constant reminder of the spirit of the age in which Nur-ud-din lived and preached. He was a hermit of the highest order and, despite five centuries "having rolled by since he lived, his name is held in profound respect and veneration by both Muhammadans and Hindus throughout Kashmir."[125] He, in fact, formed a bridge between Hinduism and Islam, and substantially contributed to the greatness of Zain-ul-Abidin's age of tolerance and humanism.

The sermons he gave were simple and intelligible to all. These are contained in his sayings composed in popular Kashmiri verse.[126] Nur-ud-din believed in the purity of soul and attacked with scathing criticism the priests who had degenerated into greedy and hypocritical men. He put great emphasis on personal example of piety, and disdained the practice of preaching sermons to others without himself observing them. He spoke of the inefficacy of the *namaz* without duly concentrating the mind on God. He advised people to seek the company of good men, and to keep away from the wicked. Nur-ud-din also raised his voice against oppression and injustice. A case is on record when he took to task a government official who was guilty of harassing the villagers.[127] He also appears to have intervened on behalf of the *Brahmanas* when they were being persecuted in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin's brother Ali Shah.[128]

Nur-ud-din Rishi had a large number of disciples the most distinguished of whom were Baba Latif-ud-din, Baba Nasir-ud-din, Baba Bam-ud-din and Baba Zain-ud-din who all popularised the *Rishi* cult.[129] Its popularity can be measured from the fact that in Kashmir under Akbar and Jahangir there were as many as two thousand *Rishis.*[130] Without much philosophy or the display of marked learning, the *Rishis* were chiefly "actuated by motives of piety and a desire for moral advancement."[131] Writing of his days, Jahangir observes : "There is also a body of *Faqirs* whom they call *Rishis.* Though they have not religious knowledge or learning of any sort, yet thev possess simplicity, and are without pretence. They abuse no one, they restrain the tongue of desire, and the foot of seeking ; they eat no flesh, they have no wives, and always plant fruit-bearing tress in the fields, so that men may benefit by them, themselves deriving no advantage."[132]

The social composition with its various ramifications, as surveyed above, were potentially capable of providing a social base for a cultural outburst of a high order which found the strongest motive-force in the aesthetic eclecticism of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. Besides many remarkable things that he did, he can also be rightly called the founder of a culture-state full of life and gaiety.

CULTURAL EFFLORESCENCE

The cultural development which Kashmir witnessed during Zain-ul-Abidin's reign represents one of the most glorious aspects of Kashmir history. It is, indeed, remarkable that the cultural tradition that he built and left behind endures even to this day. It covered almost every field and every aspect, and bore a distinct stamp of the Sultan's aesthetic sense. Zain-ul-Abidin was an exceedingly generous ruler,[133] and a high level of material prosperity which Kashmir attained in his time[131] made him a truly great patron of all that could enrich Kashmir's cultural pattern in content, vividness, vitality, and elegance. Himself an accomplished ruler with a highly developed literary and artistic sense, his fame of generosity and fine tastes transcended beyond the high mountains into the plains of India and travelled far into the Islamic world ;[135] it attracted men of exceptional merit who came and thronged his court. He, on his own part, sought and invited talent wherever it was to be found.[136] The outcome of his sustained efforts was an all-round cultural efflorescence of a high order. It found its expression in different spheres, namely, literature and learning, dance, drama and music, painting and calligraphy, architecture and commercial arts which rendered Kashmir into a permanent emporium of culture of great celebrity.

LITERATURE

Zain-ul-Abidin's reign was a great age for literary activities. He extended generous patronage for the promotion of learning, and his court was adorned with a large number of literary luminaries. As in other spheres, so in the field of literature, one easily discerns the unmistakable traces of his broad humanistic outlook. He pursued an enlightened language policy and patronised Persian, Sanskrit, and Kashmiri in an equal measue.

PERSIAN

A large number of Persian scholars flocked to his court from various centres of Persian culture. The two Maulana brothers, Maulana Mir Muhammad Rumi and Maulana Ahmad Rumi, who were proficient in several branches of learning, came from Rum and settled in Kashmir. They became recipients of the Sultan's great favours and rewards.[137] The other celebrities were Qazi Jamal, Maulana Kabir, Sayyid Muhammad Luristani, and Sayyid Muhammad Sistani. They were men of wit and intelligence, expert in the art of subtle speech and versification.[138] Qazi Jamal was accredited to the office of high *Qazi* of Kashmir.[139] Maulana Kabir had been the Sultan's tutor in his early days. He had proceeded to Herat for higher education and knowledge. He was, however, pursuaded later by Zain-ul-Abidin to return to Kashmir for heading the prestigious institution of higher learning at Naushahr.[140] The Maulana also held the post of *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. The Sultan often visited him to benefit from his learning.[141] Of the various poets who graced Zain-ul-Abidin's court the most distinguished were Maulana Ahmad Kashmiri, Maulana Nadiri, Maulana Ziai and Maulana Fatehi. They wrote excellent poetry.[142] The first two successively held the most coveted office of the Poet Laureate.[143] They also wrote a historical account of Kashmir in Persian. The later

Persian chroniclers of Kashmir refer to them occasionally. It is related that Maulana Ahmad Kashmiri once incurred the displeasure of the Sultan due to the mischief of someone and was ordered to leave the kingdom. He complied with the order and reached Pakhli. From there he sent two verses to the Sultan who was pleased to peruse them. The Maulana was at once recalled, forgiven and generously rewarded.[144]

The Sultan was himself a scholar and wrote fine pieces of prose and poetry in Persian. Writing under the pen-name "*Qutb*", Zain-ul-Abidin compiled a *diwan* which, unfortunately, is lost to us. However, a few verses are preserved in the Persian chronicles. The Sultan had obtained great excellence in versification and showed great power in employment of words in his writings.[145] He is credited with the composition of two works of prose. One was on the manufacture and use of gunpowder and fire-works : he wrote it in collaboration with Habib in the form of questions and answers, and it became a model for other authors.[146] The other was a plaint entitled *Shikayat* dealing with the vanity of human wishes. It was the expression of his mental agony caused by the misdoings of his sons whom he loved beyond measure.[147] From a few specimens of stray verses that we find in some chronicles, it is, of course, not possible to make a full and critical assessment of the literary merits of their authors. It can, however, be said that their style of Persian writing had reached a high standard of literary development.

Besides original compositions in Persian, a number of important Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. The names of *Mahabharata*, Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, *Vrihatkathasara*, *Hatakesvara Samhita*, and the *Puranas*[148] deserve special mention.

SANSKRIT

Kashmir had been a great seat of Sanskrit learning from very early times. It could boast of a university of the class of Nalanda and Taksasila,[149] of a poet-historian of Kalhana's celebrity, and of a highly developed literary tradition ready to lay its hands on Kalidasa as a Kashmiri.[150] Kashmir was fancied as the abode of the Goddess of Learning, Saraswati. It is related that Sri Harsha, the court-poet of Jayatachandra of Kanauj had to proceed to Kashmir at his patron's instance to seek approval of his work "*Naisadha*" from learned Sanskrit scholars and the Goddess of Learning.[151] In ancient Kashmir was produced a mass of Sanskrit literature covering various fields — poetry, poetics, grammar, prose, commentaries, history, drama, music, medicine, religion and philosophy. But with the advent of Muslim rule the royal patronage ceased and the tradition of Sanskrit writing suffered a serious set back.[152] However, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin extended his generous patronage to Sanskrit learning and recalled scholars who had fled to escape religious persecutions under his predecessors.[153] The outcome was the revival of ancient tradition ushering in a period of renaissance of classical Sanskrit learning and literature.[154]

Several scholars flourished in Zain-ul-Abidin's time. The most celebrated were Jonaraja, Srivara, Pandit Notthasoma, Avatar Bhatta, Yodha Bhatta and Narahari. Jonaraja, also called Jyotsnakara,[155] was the Sultan's court-poet and wrote commentaries, and a historical work called *Rajatarangini* after the classical Sanskrit style of Kalhana. Though lacking in originality, he was "a scholar of considerable attainments."[156] The *Rajatarangini* is Jonaraja's magnum opus. It is the most important contemporary source of information about Zain-ul-Abidin's reign Besides *Rajatarangini*, he also wrote commentaries on the *Kiratarjuniya* of Bharvi in 14 .9 A. D , the *Srikanthacarita* of Rajanaka Mankha, and the *Prithvirajavijaya*, a historical poem of Rajanaka Jayanaka.[157] The ease and mastery with which he handles various figures of speech and other embelishments of traditional style show him a literary artist of great accomplishments. Srivara was another great luminary enjoying the patronage, confidence, and intimacy of the Sultan.[158] He was a great scholar of Sanskrit well versed in Hindu religion and philosophy.[159] Srivara was the disciple of Jonaraja.[160] His chief work is the *Jaina-Rajatarangini*, a chronicle of kings, written in *Kavya* style. Srivara was proficient in Persian also and, carrying out the orders of Zain-ul-Abidin, he translated Mulla Jami's *Yusuf U' Zalaikha*, a romantic masterpiece in Persian literature, into Sanskrit, and named it *Kathakautaka*.[161] The adaptation of the Persian story to the requirements of Sanskrit style and idiom has been remarkably accomplished by Srivara in this work. *Kathakautaka* "stands almost unique in the contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit poetry."[162] Srivara also compiled a *Subhashitavali*, an anthology containing extracts of verses from more than 350 poets whose names are given. It represented poets from all over India though most of them were Kashmiris.[163] Besides Jonaraja and Srivara, there were other scholars as well. Yodha Bhatta had acquired great proficiency in Kashmiri[164] and in Sanskrit, and was a master of Vedic literature.[165] He was also well versed in Persian and had thoroughly studied the *Shah-nama* of Firdausi.[166] Mention may also be made of Pandit Notthasoma who, although essentially a scholar of Kashmiri, was also proficient in Sanskrit.[167] Narahari was an eminent medical scientist and his *Rajanighantu*, a medical glossary, is believed to have been composed during Zain-ul-Abidin's reign in 1450 A. D.[168] Sriva alias Srivaka was a musicologist and a scholar of Sanskrit. Under Zain-ul-Abidin, he engraved official inscriptions on copper plates.[169] He also composed a work entitled *Sangit Sangrah* for the ruler of Kishtwar, Narendra Seha,[170] possibly sometime after the death of Zain-ul-Abidin.

Sanskrit had been for centuries the official language of Kashmir under the Hindu rulers, and it continued to be so under the early Sultans ; its replacement by Persian was a slow and gradual process. According to a modern authority,[171] it was in Zain-ul-Abidin's time that Persian was made the "state language". There is no tangible evidence to support this point of view except the fact of Zain-ul-Abidin's patronage of Persian and of Persian scholars, (if it could be construed to this effect) which he seems to have done. But this does not carry much weight in view of the fact that the Sultan's reign was also a period of renaissance for Sanskrit learning. In fact, we have reference to official documents issued in Sanskrit, while there is no such evidence forthcoming in respect of Persian. Jonaraja mentions a sale-deed of land in Sanskrit,[172] while Srivaka was a Sanskrit scholar responsible for engraving official inscriptions on copper plates as noted above. Therefore, Sanskrit was obviously still in use as the official language though Persian may also have been increasingly used in official work. And we know that Zain-ul-Abidin was a scholar of both Sanskrit and Persian.[173] It is, indeed, interesting to note that the bilingual tradition was reflected even in some of the Muslim graves of the 15th and 16th centuries bearing inscriptions both in Sanskrit and in Persian side by side, the specimens of which are still in existence in Kashmir.

KASHMIRI

The Kashmiri language and literature covered an important stage of development under Zain-ul-Abidin's patronage. . It was recognised as a medium of instruction in higher studies, and popular Sanskrit and Persian works were translated into Kashmiri.[174] Some original works of both historical and literary value were also composed. The most distinguished scholars who flourished in the Sultan's court were Pandit Notthasoma, Yodha Bhatta, and Avatara Bhatta. Notthasoma was a poet who wrote in Kashmiri verse a work entitled *Jainacharita*, a biographical account of Zain-ul-Abidin.[175] Yodha Bhatta also was a poet. His poetical composition *Jainaprakasa* was a historical drama giving an account of the Sultan's reign.[176] Avatara Bhatta was the disciple of one Salhana Acharya.[177] He wrote *Jainavilas* containing the precepts of Zain-ul-Abidin.[178] None of these works is now extant. Avatara Bhatta wrote another work named *Banasurkatha* in the twenty-sixth year of the Sultan's reign,[179] i.e., in 1446 A.D. It is the only Kashmiri composition written in the Sultan's time which is available to us. Written in fine literary style, the theme of *Banasurkatha* revolves round a Puranic legend about the love of Usha and Anirudha and the consequent fight between Lord Krishna and Banasura. Although the story has been taken from the *Harivansha Purana*, the work is of high poetic value. Its vocabulary is overwhelmingly Sanskritic. The work is particularly important, for it shows the state of Kashmiri language at a point when it was developing from the *Prakrit-Apabhransa* stage into a modern Indo-Aryan language. Another great luminary was, as already noted, Shaikh Nur-ud-din. Though chiefly a *Sufi* of a high order, the Shaikh also contributed to Kashmiri literature, for his sayings are specimens of sublime sufistic thought clothed in charming verse.[180] It is, indeed, significant that Avatara Bhatta wrote his work after the death of the great *Rishi*[181] and yet his style is rather archaic, and that of the latter quite modern. It can, however, be explained by the fact that Nur-ud-din's verses passed in oral tradition before they were finally reduced to writing at a much later date,[182] and remained in a constant process of change. The inclusion of Sita Kantha, the author of *Mahanayaprakasa*, in the list of luminaries of Zain-ul-Abidin's time[183] is a mere exercise in speculation. He is now generally believed to have flourished in the thirteenth century.

EDUCATION

The reorganisation of the educational system was an important aspect of Zain-ul-Abidin's scheme of reforms. Its merit lay not so much in its meaningful expansion as in its reorientation on a secular pattern. Sultan Shihab-ud-din, it appears, was the first Muslim ruler to have set up schools in Kashmir, but they were exclusively the centres of Islamic learning. So also were those of his immediate successors Qutb-ud-din and Sikandar. Both Shihab-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din were tolerant rulers, and there is no reference to their interference with the institutions of Hindu learning.[184] However, a great obscurantist as Sikandar was, he suppressed the Hindu educational institutions.[185] He not only banned the study of the works relating to Hindu learning, but also caused many of them to be destroyed.[186] On the contrary, Zain-ul-Abidin granted freedom of education by throwing it open to all men of merit, without distinction of caste or creed. The Islamic courses of study generally included in medieval times subjects like the study of the *Quran*, *Tafsir* (interpretation of the *Quran*), *Hadis* (Tradition), *Fiqh* (Muslim jurisprudence), *Ilm-ul-Kalam* and *Ilm-ul-Tawhid* (Dogmatic Theology). Besides these, training in horsemanship, swordsmanship and archery was also imparted.[187] In Zain-ul-Abidin's time a few more subjects were added to the list. Great emphasis was laid on the study of logic and grammar. Facilities for the study of literature, arts, minerology, history and sciences were also made available. With the lifting of the ban on Hindu learning, religion and philosophy, their studies were recommenced.[188] Zain-ul-Abidin rightly understood the importance of the vernacular language, and, in addition to Persian and Sanskrit, Kashmiri was also made the medium of instruction. Arrangements were made for the preparation of the translation of existent works in the three languages. Srivara writes : "Holding that a man can receive instruction only in the language which he knows and not in other languages, the king caused translations of the various *Shastras* (subjects) to be made by those who knew Sanskrit, the vernacular (Kashmiri), and the Persian."[189] It is, indeed, remarkable that the Muslims also studied works on Hindu religion and philosophy through the Persian translations. Among others, *Vrihatkathasara*, *Hatakesvara Samhita*, and the *Puranas* are particularly mentioned.[190]

Of a number of educational institutions which flourished under Zain-ul-Abidin's patronage, the University of Naushahr was the most prestigious one. Maulana Kabir, a great Kashmiri scholar,[191] who received his higher education in Herat, was the head of this institution.[192] The Maulana was assisted by a galaxy of eminent scholars.[193] The University of Naushahr became the chief centre of higher learning, and the whole literary and intellectural activity of the kingdom revolved round it. It was located close to the royal palace, and the Sultan is mentioned as having paid frequent visits there to benefit from the erudition of Maulana Kabir.[194] A large endowment comprising several villages was created under the trusteeship of the Maulana for meeting the expenses of the University.[195] The institution is reported to have flourished till the middle of the seventeenth century.[196] Another centre of learning was the hospice managed by Shaikh Ismail Kubraviya which became so celebrated as to attract students from such far off places as Herat and Transoxiana.[197] The Sultan also set up a college at Zainagiri near the royal palace for the diffusion of learning in the kingdom. Another educational institution was established at Sir in Dachanpor, near Islamabad (Anantnag), with Mulla Ghazi Khan as its principal.[198] Zain-ul-Abidin's passion for the promotion of learning is reflected in his donation of six lakhs of rupees to the chief of a neighbouring friendly principality of Sialkot for an institution named Madrasat-ul-Ulum.[199] Equally enthusiastic was also his queen who donated her most valuable necklace for the cause of education.[200]

Zain-ul-Abidin's age witnessed significant development in the field of medical and technical education as well. Abul Fazl tells us that the Sultan often personally administered medicinal remedies.[201] Shirya Bhatta, the Royal Physician, was unrivalled in the science of medicine in his age, and the special favours which he received from the Sultan[202] were a source of great encouragement to the study of medicine. Shirya Bhatta successfully cured a malignant boil from which the Sultan had painfully suffered.[203] Both *Ayurvedic* and *Unani* systems of medicine were in vogue. A medical manual was compiled by Mansur bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Yusuf bin Ilyas entitled *Kifayah-i-Mujahidiyya*. The author mentions in the preface that he was attracted to the court of a sovereign by his justice and generosity. This sovereign has been identified with Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir.[204] Narahari was one of the most distinguished figures associated with the science of medicine. He composed his medical glossary called *Rajanighantu* in Kashmir in 1450 A.D.[205] Details are available of the different kinds of diseases and their remedies. Some of the diseases, it is curiously asserted, could also be cured with the effect of music.[206] There is a reference to the import of mid-wives into Kashmir.[207] It is suggestive of the introduction of not only maternity wards in hospitals but also of expertise for training in midwifery.

Zain-ul-Abidin made official arrangements for imparting training in technical skills. Particular references to the import of expertise are available. We have the testimony of Sayyid Ali that the Sultan procured one or two experts from each category of technicians and artisans from Samarqand. He particularly mentions the paper-makers and carpet-weavers.[208] Two intelligent persons were also sent to Samarqand. One received training in book-binding while the other in paper-making.[209] A special boat-designer came from Gujarat.[210] Every traveller to Kashmir was subjected to an enquiry if he knew anything worthwhile. If found proficient in any skill, he was obliged to train one or two persons officially deputed for the purpose. It is quite obvious that the persons so deputed, after receiving instruction, trained other men in different arts.[211]

The Sultan extended educational facilities to all without distinction of caste, creed or social status, a fact which would bring credit to any modern government. Hostels were established for providing free accommodation to students. Education was free and the students were given stipends and books free of charge.[212] They were also sometimes sent abroad for technical training at government expense, and, during their absence, their families were given sustenance allowance by the State.[213] The result of this educational re-organisation was that even "the families which never dreamt of learning, produced men, who through the favour of the king, became known for their erudition."[214] But nothing seems to have been done in the field of female education.

The advancement of higher learning was greatly aided by the establishment of a big library, which Zain-ul-Abidin built with much effort. He sought learned works both in Sanskrit and in Persian wherever they were to be found. He restored to the native land many of the Sanskrit works which had been taken away by Hindu scholars while fleeing from Kashmir to escape religious persecutions under his father.[215] Srivara writes : "He (Zain-ul-Abidin) caused the *Puranas*, books on logic, the *Mimansa*, and other books to be brought from distant lands, and distributed them to the learned."[216] He also sent his men to Iraq, Persia, and Turkistan for procuring rare Persian works or their transcribed copies and he paid them generously for their labours.[217] He also received on his own request several manuscripts from his friend Shah Rukh, the Timurid ruler of Khurasan.[218] The great library is said to have perished in the political disturbances which rocked the kingdom under the later Shah Mir rulers.[219]

PAINTING

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin also patronised the art of painting. The greatest painter who flourished in his court was Mulla Jamil Hafiz.[220] He was so proficient in his work that he rendered one of the themes into twelve different forms of drawings.[221] For his artistic creativity, he received generous favours from the Sultan.[222] A liberal king, Zain-ul-Abidin allowed all sorts of human and animal figures to be painted. Portrait painting was then in vogue. There is a reference to a portrait of the Sultan which his son Haji Khan kept for his consolation after his father's death.[223] The art of painting found its expression also in various patterns printed on cloth. These included circular designs, plant-forms, and figures of men and of the goddess Durga.[224] The only specimens of paintings of the time which have survived are those found on the ceilings of the mosque of Madani, as well as on the tiles of his tomb. The ceiling of the mosque is surfaced by small and thin pieces of wood put together into various geometrical forms, and painted in different colours which have, however, become much faint now. However, the most remarkable pieces of art are the painted tiles used in the walls of Madani's tomb.[225] These are characterised by varied themes and patterns, and by the use of rich pigments. The patterns represent various types of flower-combinations, geometrical patterns, and animal figures. The colours generally used are red, blue, indigo, yellow, light and dark green, brown and reddish-brown. One of the tiles, which has now disappeared, had "a flowing floral pattern interwoven with the heads of donkeys and lions."[226] The most noteworthy specimen, however, was one found by Nicholls[227] of the Archaeological Survey of India, but that also is not extant now. It was a well-executed representation of a beast with the body of a leopard. It changed at the neck into the trunk of a human being. It was portrayed as shooting apparently with a bow and arrow at its own tail, while a fox was quietly looking on among flowers and cloud-forms. The beast was about four feet long, and was "striking quite a heraldic attitude." The human chest, shoulders, and head were already missing when Nicholls made the survey. The tail of the beast ended in a kind of a dragon's head. The background of the picture was blue, the trunk of the man was red, the leopard's body was yellow with light green spots, the dragon's head and the fox were reddish-brown, and the flowers were of different colours. This representation was, indeed, unique, and of great significance in certain respects. First, it was positively un-Islamic and its portrayal on the tomb of a distinguished Muslim saint is perhaps the only example of its kind in the whole range of Indo-Islamic architecture. Secondly, the cloud-forms are peculiar to the Chinese and Persian artistic traditions. Their depiction in Kashmir speaks of the Chinese and Persian influence on Kashmir art. These were, however, used later by the Mughals in Fatehpur Sikri, Sikandara, and the Red Fort. Thirdly, the use of a dragon also perhaps represents the Chinese influence.

CALLIGRAPHY

The Arabic script is capable of being written in an exceedingly beautiful style. This qualitative adaptability gave rise to an artistic tradition, and to its use for decorative purposes not only in learned works but also in buildings as an architectural feature. Zain-ul-Abidin showed keen interest in the art of calligraphy. He sent for calligraphists from Samarqand and Balkh, and granted them lands in the *Pargana* of Phag for their maintenance[228] One of the scribes was sent to Mecca to transcribe a copy of the original manuscript of *Kashshaf*, a well known commentary on the *Quran*, written by Allama Jarullah Zamakhsheri.[229] He was paid adequate travel expenses,[230] and during his absence his family was duly maintained at State expense.[231] A few specimens of calligraphy are, however, preserved in the form of inscriptions on the Zainalank stone slab,[232] the doorway of Madani's mosque, and the graves of Zain-ul-Abidin's queen, Makhdumah Khatun, and others.

MUSIC AND DANCE

Unlike his father who banned music in his kingdom, Zain-ul-Abidin was liberal, and his reign was a great age for music. The Sultan himself acquired a high degree of skill in the science and art of music.[233] He greatly patronised musicians and dancers and rewarded them generously.[234] The fame of his munificence attracted to his court exponents of both Indian and Persian styles, which blended and contributed to the development of an Indo-Iranian school of classical music. This new form of music is now called the *Sufiana Kalam*. Zain-ul-Abidin's reign was characterised by the frequent holding of concerts of music and dance, which he was keen to witness for long hours,[235] and sometimes even for the whole night.[236] His musical talent was inherited to the full by his son Haji Khan and grandson Hasan Khan. Haji Khan was a versatile artist, and could sing and play on musical instruments with great proficiency.[237] Hasan Khan was an accomplished vocalist and recited both Sanskrit and Persian lyrics with equal ease.[238] And when he became king he set up a separate department of music under Srivara.[239] The love of music was equally shared by the people, and music became an important aspect of social life in Kashmir under Zain-ul-Abidin. The music and dance programmes drew large audiences and were witnessed with keen interest.[240]

We learn from the *Sangit Sangrah* compiled by Srivaka, once an official of Zain-ul-Abidin, that Indian classical music had reached an advanced state of development in Kashmir. Various kinds of *srutis*, *talas*, *nada*, *grama*, *swara*, *guna*, *varga*, *laya*, *sthana*, *agama*, *ragas* and *raginis* were associated with its style of rendering.[241] Many of the *ragas* mentioned are similar to those we find today. Kashmir was regarded as one of the eight celebrated centres of classical music in India.[242] Dance was considered an inseparable part of music.[243] The two great artists Tara and Utsava were both dancers and singers.[244] The dances were classified into *pada nritya*, *hasta nritya*, *gatra nritya*, and *shru nritya*[245] obviously on the basis of prominence in the display of feet, hands, body and head respectively. The stage was lavishly decorated and the performance was marked by a display of actions, feelings and emotions.[246] The list of musical instruments included *veena*,[247] *bells*, *narada* (*ek tara*), *tumburu* (*tanpura*), *saptantri* (*sitar*), *mridangama*, *kashyapa*, and *muruja*.[248]

The greatest exponent of Indian classical music was Srivara. Possessed of a sweet voice with fine modulations, he specialised in the musical rendering of lyrics from the *Gita Govinda* and other Hindu scriptures. He was the top favourite of Zain-ul-Abidin and often entertained him.[249] Yodha Bhatta also enjoyed much reputation as a musician and musicologist. He wrote a book and dedicated it to the Sultan.[250] The Sultan was always anxious to receive in his court singers and learned works on music. He received a book entitled *Sangitchudamani* from Dugarseha, the ruler of Gwalior, on the occasion of a festival of music. It comprised rules of singing, of fine arts and acting, and contained a fine collection of songs.[251] Different books were indigenously produced on the subject, and the science of music was much improved.[252] However, new elements were introduced into the music when musicians from Persia and Turkistan flocked to his court,[253] and schools of Irani and Turani music were founded in Kashmir under the patronage of Zain-ul-Abidin.[254] One of the musicians was Mulla Zada, the disciple of Abdul Qadir. He came from Khurasan. He was so accomplished that his lute recital was a source of great pleasure to the Sultan.[255] He was generously rewarded.[256] Mulla Jamal was pre-eminent among his contemporaries who delighted the Sultan by the musical rendering of Persian lyrics.[257] Srivara, whose skill in Indian classical music was unsurpassed, also took to Persian singing, and sang in a group with Jafrana and others to the accompaniment of the *veena*. They sang in twelve different modes[258] (*maqamat* or *ragas*). To this style of choral singing may be traced the modern classical music of Kashmir sung in chorus known as the *Sufiana Kalam*. It obviously developed through a gradual process of evolution by an interaction and mingling of musical elements of Persian and Indian classical systems. It is borne by the fact that we have in the *Sufiana Kalam* some *ragas* resembling Indian *ragas* with Indian names, such as *Bhairavi*, *Lalit* and *Kalyan*, as well as Persian names, for example, *Rast-i-Farsi*, *Panjgah Isfahani*, and so on. The *rabab* was introduced into Kashmir in Zain-ul-Abidin's time.[259] It was a national instrument of the Arabs, and was very popular in Khurasan.[260] It may have come from Khurasan, for Zain-ul-Abidin had intimate contacts with its rulers.[261]

ARCHITECTUCE

Zain-ul-Abidin was unquestionably the greatest and the most prolific builder in medieval Kashmir. He built numerous cities and towns which he studded with buildings for various purposes as surveyed in a previous Chapter. The edifices were predominantly made of wood. Masonry work though prevalent was comparatively rare. The specimens of wooden architecture of Zain-ul-Abidin's time are now few and fragmented although he had built on a grand scale. The most magnificent wooden structure was the one constructed in Naushahr consisting of twelve stories of fifty rooms each, with halls and corridors. In its massiveness it was incomparable in the whole eastern world.[262] It was perhaps the first sky-scraper of the world. Nothing of it remains for fire accounted for the destruction of wooden structures almost entirely. The town of Suyyapura was, for instance, completely gutted by the great fire and was rebuilt by Zain-ul-Abidin.[263] Jami Masjid, the great mosque of Srinagar, built in about 1400 A.D. in his father's time, was chiefly a wooden edifice. It is mentioned to have been destroyed by fire at least three times, and on no occasion drastic changes appear to have taken place in its composition, style and original plan.[264] One of these fire accidents took place in Zain-ul-Abidin's time when he exerted himself for restoring the Jami Masjid.[265] Its original plan was designed by a celebrated architect Sadr-ud-din, who had come from Khurasan.[266] It is "unquestionably the most impressive, and also the most architectural building in the wooden style" in Kashmir.[267] The mosque is a massive structure with a courtyard about 73 metres square, surrounded on all sides with collonades. The whole structure is enclosed by a lofty outer wall of masonry with projecting entrances on three sides. Its striking architectural features are the elegantly recessed portico, arched arcades, lofty archways, and the pyramidal roof surmounted by a spire. But the singularly imposing aspect is a series of lofty columns of *deodar* arrayed around the entire structure. The columns are 378 in number[268] ranging between 7.62 and 15.25 metres in height.

Fortunately, a few buildings in masonry style originally constructed during Zain-ul-Abidin's reign have survived. They are the tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin's mother, and the tomb and mosque of Mir Sayyid Muhammad Madani. These structures clearly reflect the attempts made in early temples for Islamic use with additions showing "affinities to the contemporary brick and glazed tile architecture of Persia."[269] The plinths of some of the Hindu temples damaged under Zain-ul-Abidin's two immediate predecessors were utilised in his time for raising structures. This system of architectural conversion is most strikingly illustrated in the tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin's mother. The plinth and the enclosure wall of the building are of an ancient Hindu temple.[270] The ancient appearance of the stones used, and the Hindu features such as the mouldings of the plinth and the section of the coping, unmistakably prove it to be so.[271] The superstructure made of brick in accordance with the Islamic needs is the work of the Sultan. Standing between the fourth and the fifth bridges in Srinagar, the tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin's mother is square in shape. The four corners are straightened to constitute sides for rectangular projections. Based on a similar pattern, the superstructure consists of a single centrally-situated chamber with "projections recessed internally at the angles."[272] It is surmounted by four cupolas of equal size resting on the rectangular projections and a large towering dome attached to these. It is noteworthy that the original plan of the Hindu structure facilitated its transformation into a "conventional Muslim tomb" without much difficulty. Each wall of this structure has an archway set into it. There is an iron chain inside the building, hanging from an iron plate, and suggestive of a Hindu influence. The inner doorway is so designed that its upper portion gives the impression of a horse-shoe arch. The other important features of the tomb are "the glazed and moulded blue bricks, which are studded at intervals in the exterior walls, the semi-circular brick projections on the drum of the main dome, and the mould, string-courses and sunk panels on the drums of the cupolas."[273] The design and execution of this tomb implies Persian influence.[274]

The tomb and mosque of Madani were obviously built adjacent to each other in memory of the great saint. According to a well-preserved inscription on the doorway, the mosque was constructed in 1444 A. D. It is quite possible that the tomb may have been erected at the same time. A practice among Muslims to build tombs during their life-time has not been uncommon. Built on the stone plinth of an ancient temple,[275] the mosque has a brick superstructure consisting of four walls externally decorated with trefoiled brick niches. In the construction of the porch some carved Hindu columns have been used. The mosque is a self-contained structure with a hall 9.68 metres square measured internally. Some of the architectural features are the pilasters of walls and niches, spandrels of arches, cornice, capitals, eaves, dentils and metopes, beautiful tracery work, and open-work carving. The entablature and capitals are purely of Hindu style.[276] The structure has a pyramidal roof covered with earth which, as the remnants show, was once surmounted by a spire. Two features of the mosque are particularly noteworthy. First, the wooden doorway is elaborately carved and constitutes a fine specimen of the art of wood-carving in Kashmir. Secondly, the chamber ceiling is finely decorated with thin pieces of wood worked into geometrical patterns and beautifully painted with flowers in different colours. It is called *Khataband*[277] work. Standing on four multi-faced wooden columns, the ceiling is designed into nine squares of equal size with the middle one bulging upwards into a dome. The whole structure is in a crumbling state.

Adjoining on the north side of the mosque is the tomb of Madani. Like the mosque, it is also built on the plinth of a Hindu temple. The superstructure is made of brick generally measuring 21 × 15 × 3 cm. In the inner chamber of the tomb are used two Hindu columns. The chief attraction of this building lies in its glazed tile-work which must have presented a brilliant spectacle when still in a state of perfect preservation. In style, design, and execution, the tile-work has "every appearance of being of Persian manufacture."[278] The tiles have exquisitely painted flowers in different brilliant colours, such as yellow, green, blue, indigo, brown and dark orange. The tiles generally used are square in shape, each side measuring 19·5 cm. Rectangular tiles of various sizes are used only in the formation of borders.[279]

COMMERCIAL ARTS

Zain-ul-Abidin's claim for remembrance by posterity also rests much on the official patronage which he extended for the development of commercial arts in Kashmir. It was done by a number of ways. While he introduced new varieties, he also improved the existing and revived the old and extinct ones. The Sultan encouraged artisans engaged in different callings. Possessed of great inventiveness himself, the Sultan favoured those who showed skill in any art.[280] Kashmir had not yet known the use of paper for purposes of writing ; the Sultan got men from Samarqand proficient in the art of making paper.[281] He also deputed two persons to be trained in Samarqand, one in this art, and the other in book-binding. They popularised them on their return."[282] The paper industry made such a remarkable progress subsequently that it elicited high praise from an European traveller who wrote in 1783 that "the Kashmirians fabricated the best writing paper of the East", and that it was once "an article of extensive traffic.[283] The carpet-weavers from Samarqand introduced carpets for the first time into Kashmir.[284] The waterways and boats of various shapes and sizes constituted then, as now, though in a lesser degree, the chief means of internal transport. Experts were invited from Gujarat who introduced boats of a special design : these boats were driven by sails.[285] Mirza Haidar Dughlat credits Zain-ul-Abidin with the introduction of a number of commercial arts into Kashmir. He writes : "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in most cities, uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting (*tabdan-tarashi*), gold-beating, etc. In the whole of Mavara-un-Nahr, except in Samarqand and Bokhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin."[286]

Traditon ascribes to Zain-ul-Abidin the introduction of shawl-manufacture for the first time into Kashmir. It was believed to be the work of weavers invited by the Sultan from Turkistan.[287] Nothing can be said with certainty in this regard, though the tradition finds some support in other factors. First, the shawl was perhaps not known to the Kashmiris at least upto the middle of twelfth century, for Kalhana does not notice it at all. Secondly, the weavers employed the twill-tapestry technique which was peculiar to Persia and Central Asia.[288] Thirdly, Kashmir was rendered famous for the elegance and durability of shawls during this period.[289] The textile industry also made considerable progress. The Kashmir varieties of woollen and silken fabrics became celebrated, for they were better in quality than those manufactured elsewhere. It can chiefly be attributed to the skill of the master-artists who came to Kashmir in large numbers in Zain-ul-Abidin's time. The Sultan's liberal legislation is also said to have contributed to the increase of output of and the improvement in, the quality of silk. The designs of prints were considerably improved in content and variety. Beautiful patterns were woven on cloth which excited wonder. These included tree-forms, circular designs, and human figures.[290] The plumes of feathers were also manufactured.[291] Jahangir refers to them among the excellencies of Kashmir, the annual produce of which in his time was to the tune of 10,700 pieces.[292] Anothar item was the fire-works manufactured for the first time in Kashmir. Its display excited wonder and awe among the people. Srivara gives a graphic description of it. He writes : "Fireworks of various colours made by the mixture of charcoal powder, sulphur, and saltpetre pleased the men. Tubes were filled with saltpetre, and the thick sparks of fire which issued out of them looked a creeper of gold and the spectators were filled with fear and wonder on beholding a flame issuing out of water like a serpent. From the tubes rose balls of fire to the sky, beautiful as silver and looked like the planets Jupiter and Venus. A tube filled with saltpetre was tied to a string ; it went off to a distance like a flame, and when pulled, it returned in flames. Such flames shot from the king and returned to him like bright shooting stars ; and the spectators fixed their eyes on them in wonder and joy."[293]

Judging by any standard, it is, indeed, an impressive record for any ruler of medieval times. The numerous cities which Zain-ul-Abidin built and populated were no mean achievement. They meant the growth of trade and transfer of population from the rural areas to the new urban centres. No wonder that it elicited appreciation from a Mughal historian who wrote that "no other ruler of Kashmir had the success which he had in settling and increasing the population."[294] It marked the urbanization of Kasmirian society at an accelerated pace, and "Kashmir became a city". to use the expression of Mirza Haidar Dughlat.[295] The over-all picture which emerges is one of a tolerant, gay and prosperous society with indulgence in refined epicureanism of a middle class economy. It was an age of great social and literary activity in which people of both communities participated after the ideal of their king[296] leaving aside religious bias and fanaticism. They did what a people profoundly influenced by great sufistic tradition were expected to do. Zain-ul-Abidin had found the Kashmirian society seething with socio-religious strife and discontent, and when he died half a century later the Hindus and Muslims had covered a large common ground in the evolution of a social order much free from communal frenzy and religious discord. It may have been untenable from a narrow Muslim point of view[297] but in the larger humanitarian and national context, it was an achievement of the highest order which could bring credit even to the greatest of Muslim rulers.

REFERENCES

1. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, pp. 84-86.
2. cf. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 302.
3. Jonaraja, Stt. 922, 924, (Bo. ed.), St. 1080.
4. Ganak Prashast, *Sukhdukh Mohamayajal Charitam*, Pt. I.

5. Ibid. 6. Srivara, 1, i, St. 39.

7. Vide Chapter IV, p. 75. 8. Jonaraja, Stt. 869, 879.

9. Srivara, 1, v, St. 3. 10. Ibid., i, St. 153, vii, St. 186.

11. Ibid., vii, Stt. 152, 153, 161, ii, Stt. 1-2.

12. Jonaraja, St. 952. 13. Ibid., (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1317-18.

14. Singh, *R.T.*, p. 521, 952n (i).
15. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1320.
16. Kalhana, I, v, 354-96, vi, 182. Alberuni also speaks of *Dombas* in India as lute-players and singers : (*India*, (Sachau, tr.) I, p. 102).
17. Stein, *R.T*, I, iv, 475n, II, p. 430.

18. Srivara, 1, i, St. 38. 19. Kalhana, I, vi, 77-79, vii, 309.

20. Ibid., II, viii, 1103. In the India of Alberuni's time, the *Chandalas* were engaged as executioners of criminals sentenced to death : (*India*, (Sachau, tr.), I, p. 102).
21. I.A., Vol. 59, (1930), p. 112. The *Chandalas* are now all Muslims and supply lime to the *Brahmanas* for use in religious rites ; they decorate the compound by marking a circular diagram in it (called *Vyug*) with lime and turmeric at weddings, etc., and receive presents from them : (Ibid).
22. Srivara, 1, v, St. 58.
23. Majumdar, *Vedic Age*, pp. 167, 313-14.
24. *Si-Yu-Ki*, (Tr. Beal), I, pp. 150, 156.

25. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 85 26. Kalhana, II, viii, 358.

27. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 59-60.
28. Haidar Malik, p. 47 ; *Baharistan.*, pp. 31-32.
29. Jonaraja, Stt. 962-63 ; Srivara, 1, vii, St. 52.
30. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 99-106, 119-26.
31. For a detailed discussion on the *Kayasthas* see Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-97.

32. Jonaraja, St. 313. 33. Stein, *R.T.*, I, vii, 601n.

34. Ksemendra, *Lokaprakasa*, Pt. IV, p. 58 ; Kalhana, I, iv, 629, v, 175, vii, 39-41, II, viii, 204.
35. Jonaraja, Stt. 801, 960-61 ; Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 56-57 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 654-55 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
36. Srivara, 1, i, St. 42.
37. *Petersburg Wortherbuch*, III, p. 185.
38. *Research Biannual*, Vol. I, (1960), p. 24.
39. Ibid., p. 33. Also see Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and*

Revenue Terms, p. 310.
40. *Research Biannual*, Vol. I, (1960), p. 34.
41. Fauq, *Tarikh-i-Aqwam-i-Kashmir*, pp. 280 Sqq.
42. Kalhana, II, viii, 6, 7. 43. Jonaraja, St. 887.
44. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 94 Sqq. 45. Ibid., iii, Stt. 68-69.
46. *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden), p. 599.
47. *Baharistan.*, pp. 31-32. 48. Jonaraja, Stt. 852-53.
49. Ibid., Stt. 823-28, (Bo. ed), Stt. 1052-53, 1077-91.
50. *Baharistan.*, p. 54.
51. Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 221-22.
52. *Baharistan.*, pp. 31-32.
53. Ibid., pp. 40, 43, 46, 47, 52 ; Jonaraja, St. 841.
54. *Baharistan.*, pp. 29, 35, 39-40.
55. Ibid., p. 31 ; Srivara, 1, vii, St. 47.
56. Jonaraja, Stt. 841-49. 57. Sayyid Ali, f. 17b.
58. Stein, *R.T.*, 1, vii, 290n ; Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 306.
59. *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 181.
60. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1325 Sqq.
61. Srivara, 4, St. 143.
62. *Baharistan.*, p. 47 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 15a.
63. Firishta, p. 454.
64. Srivara mentions him as Muhammad Margesa (4, St. 143) as against Muhammad Magre of Persian chroniclers.
65. Kalhana, 1, v, 152, vii, 119, 167, 171, II, viii, 209, 211, 2764 Sqq., 2842 Sqq.
66. Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 82, 95. 67. Ibid., St. 95.
68. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 141 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 47.
69. Firishta, p. 454. 70. *Baharistan.*, pp. 49-50.
71. Stein, *R T.*, II, p. 430. 72. Srivara, 1, i, Stt. 121-22.
73. Stein, *R. T.*, I, i, 317. 74. *Baharistan.*, pp 43-44.
75. Srivara, 1, v, St. 99. 76. Sayyid Ali, f. 15a.
77. Jonaraja, St. 869.
78. Srivara, 1, v, St. 22 ; Jonaraja, St. 969.
79. For details see Supra, pp. 93-99.
80. Srivara, 1, iv, Stt. 19-24 ; Nizamuddin, p. 657.
81. Jonaraja, Stt. 883-84 ; Nizamuddin, p. 653.
82. Marco Polo, *Travels*, (Tr. Yule), I, pp. 176-77 ; Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 141, 173.
83. Brick constructions testify to this.
84. Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 73-74. 85. Jonaraja, Stt. 864, 899.
86. Ibid., Stt. 885-86. 87. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 28.
88. Ibid., v, St. 60. 89. Jonaraja, St. 919.
90. Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 73-74. 91. *Baharistan.*, p. 49.
92. Jonaraja, St. 143. Ksemendra places it at 66,063 : (*Lokaprakasa*, Pt. iv, p. 60).
93. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 39, 1n. Mohibbul Hasan has

accepted the number at its face value : (p. 252).

94. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 438. It was first published in 1900.
95. Srivara, 1, ii, Stt. 11-15, 19-21, iii, Stt. 2 Sqq. ; Nizamuddin, p. 665.
96. Srivara, 1, iii, Stt. 26-28 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 665, 667.
97. Jonaraja, St. 873.
98. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, f. 134b. It has given its name to the Mohalla Jugilankar in Rainawari, a quarter in Srinagar : (See Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 106, 11n).
99. Jonaraja, Stt. 846-48 ; Nizamuddin, p. 656.
100. Jonaraja, St. 873 ; Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 43-44.
101. Jonaraja, Stt. 847, 852. 102. Ibid., Stt. 898-99.
103. Ibid., St. 828. Curiously enough, Ramanand is mentioned as a chemist by Sufi (*Kashir*, I, p. 168) and an administrator by Bamzai : (*History of Kashmir*, p. 306).
104. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., pp. 108-109.
105. Bulbul Shah who converted Rinchana to Islam belonged to the *Suhrawardiya silsilah* : (*Majmua dar Ansab Mashaikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 106 a ; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, 136b, II, f. 84b).
106. Sayyid Ali Hamadani who did so much to popularise Islam in Kashmir was attached to the *Kubraviya* order : (*Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, pp. 55-56).
107. *Baharistan.*, pp. 30, 31, 52 ; Sayyid Ali, ff. 17b-18a.
108. Rafi-ud-din, f. 47a. 109. Sayyid Ali, f. 18b.
110. Ibid. 111. Ibid., f. 18a.
112. Rafi-ud-din, f 47a. 113. *Baharistan.*, p. 30.
114. Sayyid Ali, f. 18b ; J.A.S.B., Vol. 39, (1870), p. 269.
115. *Baharistan.*, p 30. 116. Ibid., p. 31.
117. Sayyid Ali, f. 17b. 118. *Baharistan.*, p. 31.
119. Ibid., p. 30.
120. Daud Mish ati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, f. 63a.
121. Sayyid Ali, f. 18b.
122. Kamil, *Nur-nama*, Intro., p. 34.
123. For his biographical details see Abdul Wahhab, *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya*, ff. 215b Sqq. ; Baba Nasib-ud-din Ghazi, *Nur-nama*, ff. 190b Sqq.
124. Anand Kaul, I.A., Vol. 59, (1930), p. 32.
125. I.A., Vol. 58, (1929), p. 194.
126. Some of his representative verses have been edited and translated into English by Anand Kaul : (See I.A., Vol. 58, (1929), pp. 198, 221-24, Vol. 59, (1930), pp. 28-29).
127. Baba Nasib-ud-din Ghazi, *op. cit.*, f. 192b.
128. Jonaraja, St. 673 and Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 101.
129. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 224.
130. *Tuzuk.*, II, pp. 149-50. They are mentioned as *Brahmanas* in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari.* It is obviously a transcriptional

error for *Rishis* which has passed uncorrected by Jadunath Sarkar in Jarrett's English translation : (*Ain.*, II, p. 256. Also see *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 150 and note).

131. J.A.S.B., Vol. 59, (1870), p. 270.
132. *Tuzuk.*, II, pp. 149-50.
133. Srivara, 1, i, St. 30, iv, Stt. 52-53 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
134. Srivara, 1, i, St. 24, vi, Stt. 3-4 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 44 ; Haidar Malik, p. 47.
135. Srivara, 1, i, St. 25, vi, Stt. 6 Sqq., 22, 24, 26 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 45.
136. Jonaraja, Stt. 771-72 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 32, vi, St. 27 ; Sayyid Ali, ff. 14b-15a ; *Baharistan.*, p. 44 ; Haidar Malik, p. 47.
137. *Baharistan.*, pp. 45, 53. 138. Ibid., p. 53.
139. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
140. Ibid. ; *Baharistan.*, p. 53 ; Narayan Kaul, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 71a.
141. Haidar Malik, p. 47. 142. *Baharistan* , p. 53.
143. Haidar Malik, p. 45. 144. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
145. *Baharistan.*, pp. 52-53 ; Haidar Malik, pp. 46-47.
146. Vide Chapter VI, p. 117. 147. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 144-46.
148. Ibid., v, Stt. 85-86.
149. Nagarjan, *Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature*, Intro., p. iv.
150. According to one theory Kalidasa was a Kashmiri : (See Nagarjan, *op. cit.*, Appendix II, pp. 655-64).
151. Sri Harsha, *Naisadha*, *Intro* , p 324.
152. cf. Nagarjan, *op. cit.*, pp. 637-38
153. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 76-78, vii, St. 114.
154 cf. Nagarjan, *op. cit.*, p. 484.
155. Srivara, *Kathakautaka*, I, St. 41.
156. Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 373.
157. Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., pp. 31-32. Mankha was a celebrated Kashmiri poet who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., and his work *Srikanthacarita* is a *mahakavya* devoted to Siva : (Nagarjan, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-43 ; Buhler's *Report*, pp. 50-51).
158. Srivara, 1, i, St. 11, iv, Stt. 99-102, vii, Stt. 132-41.
159. Ibid , vii, Stt. 132-41. 160. Ibid., i, St. 7.
161. Buhler's *Report*, p. 61. 161. Nagarjan, *op. cit* , p. 260.
163. Buhler's *Report*, p. 61. 164. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 38.
165. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), Stt. 1270-71.
166. *Munich MS.*, ff. 72b-73a. 167. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 37.
168. Gode, *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, I, pp. 219-20.
169. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 36-39.
170. Srivaka, *Sangit Sangrah*, ff. 1b-2a.
171. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 255. 172. Jonaraja, Stt. 801-808.
173. Nizamuddin, pp. 658-59. 174. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 82-83.

175. Ibid., iv, St. 37.
176. Ibid., St. 38.
177. *Banasurkatha*, St. 3.
178. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 39.
179. *Banasurkatha*, St. 390. It is wrongly mentioned as *Banasur Vadh* by Buhler (*Report*, p. 90) and after him by Grierson : (See *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Pt. II, (1919), p. 237). Through the latter, the error has also crept into a modern work : (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 259).
180. I.A., Vol. 58, (1929), p. 194.
181. Nur-ud-din died in 1438 A.D. : (Kamil, *Nur-nama*, Intro., p. 32).
182. I.A , Vol. 58, (1929), p. 195.
183. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 259.
184. For details of their institutions see Rafi-ud-din (f. 29b) and Abul Qasim (f. 110b).
185. Jonaraja, (Bo. ed.), St. 1072.
186. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 75-76 ; Sayyid Ali, f. 13b.
187. Mulla Ali Raina, *Tazkirat-ul-Arifin*, ff. 511a-b, 513a.
188. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 65, 72, 84-87.
189. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 146.
190. Ibid., 1, v, St. 86.
191. Sufi, *Kashir*, I, p. 162.
192. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
193. Sufi, *Kashir*, II, p. 347.
194. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
195. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 90 ; Sufi, *Kashir*, II, pp. 347-48.
196. Hasan, f. 119b.
197. *Tarikh-i-Azami* : (Vide Mohibbul Hasan, p. 90 and 7n).
198. Sufi, *Kashir*, II, p. 348. Sir is now a large village situated, Lat. 33° 47′ Long. 75° 17′, about 7 miles north-east of Islamabad : (*Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 754).
199. Muhammad Ali Sherwani, *Muayyid-ul-Fuzala* : (Vide Sufi, *Kashir*, II, p. 348.
200. Sufi, *Kashir*, II, p. 348.
201. *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
202. Nizamuddin, pp. 653-54.
203. Jonaraja, Stt. 809 Sqq.
204. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS*, II, p. 470b.
205. Gode, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 219-20.
206. Ganak Prashast, *op. cit.*, Pt. I.
207. Sayyid Ali ff. 14b-15a.
208. Ibid.
209. *Baharistan.*, p. 51.
210. Ibid., p. 44.
211. Ibid , pp. 44-45.
212. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 65-66.
213. *Baharistan.*, pp. 44-45.
214. Srivara, (Dutt), pp. 144-45.
215. Ibid., I, v, Stt. 75-78.
216. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 145.
217. *Baharistan.*, p. 45 ; Hasan, f. 120b.
218. Rafi-ud-din, ff. 46b-47a ; Abul Qasim f. 126b.
219. Hasan, f. 120b.
220. *Ain.*, II, p. 384.
221. Baini Prashad, *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 657, 2n.
222. Nizamuddin, p. 657.
223. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 244.
224. Ibid., Stt. 30, 32.
225. A few tiles are still adhering on the walls of the tomb. Some

fragments are preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar.

226. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 93.
227. *Archaeological Survey Report*, (1906-7), pp. 163-64.
228. Haidar Malik, p. 47.
229. *Baharistan.*, p. 45. Allama Jarullah was an eminent Arabic scholar and theologian (1074-1143 A.D.).
230. Ibid. 231. Sayyid Ali, f. 16a.
232. The Zainalank inscription is preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar.
233. Nizamuddin, p. 653.
234. *Baharistan.*, p. 46 ; Srivara, 1, iv, Stt. 40, 42, 52.
235. Srivara, 1, i, St. 33, iii, St. 54, iv, Stt. 5-19 ; *Baharistan.*, p. 46.
236. Srivara, I, iv, St. 25. 237. Ibid., 2, Stt. 56-59.
238. Ibid., 3, Stt. 236-40. 239. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 231.
240. Ibid., I, iv, Stt. 6 Sqq. ; *Baharistan.*, p. 46.
241. For details see Srivaka's *Sangit Sangrah*, ff. 11b-13a.
242. Ibid., f. 16a. The other seven centres mentioned by Srivaka were Kanyakubja, Nepal, Maharashtra, Gauda, Gandhara, Choladesa and Uttaradesa : (Ibid).
243. Ibid., f. 2b. 244. Srivara, 1, iv, Stt. 9-12.
245. Srivaka, *Sangit Sangrah*, f. 13b.
246. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 41. 247. Ibid., St. 40.
248. Srivaka, *Sangit Sangrah*, f. 11b. *Kashyapa* was a kind of instrument made of tortoise shell. *Muruja* has, however, not been identified.
249. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 100, 102, vii, Stt. 132-33.
250. *Munich MS.*, f. 72a. 251. Srivara, 1, vi, Stt. 14-15.
252. Firishta, p. 470. 253. *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
254. Blochmann, *Ain.*, I, p. 680 and note.
255. Srivara, 1, iv, Stt. 31-32. Nizamuddin mentions Mulla Zada as Mulla Udi obviously because he played on *Ud*, a kind of instrument something like the lute : (p. 657).
256. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 32 ; Nizamuddin, p. 657.
257. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 32 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
258. Srivara, 1, iv, Stt. 34-36.
259. Ibid., St. 40 ; Nizamuddin, p. 658.
260. Farmer, *History of the Arabic Music*, p. 210.
261. Srivara, 1, vi, Stt. 22-24. 262. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 429-30.
263. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 34, 35, 41.
264. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 87.
265. *Baharistan.*, p. 53. 266. Haidar Malik, p. 44.
267. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
268. The mosque had 370 columns when it was originally built in Sikandar's time : (Haidar Malik, p. 44).
269. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
270. Cunningham, J.A.S.B., Vol. XVII, Pt. II, (1848), pp. 245-46 ;

Cole, *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, p. 15 ; Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Fergusson, however, regards it as an entirely Muslim building without ever personally seeing it : (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 253).

271. *Archaeological Survey Report*, (1906-7), p. 161.
272. Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
273. *Archaeological Survey Report*, (1906-7), p. 162.
274. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
275. *Archaeological Survey Report*, (1906-7), p. 164.
276. Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 92. 277. Ibid.
278. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p.88.
279. Some of the specimens adhering on the walls or preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum which the author of this work measured are 22×9.5 cm., 19.5×13.5 cm., 19.5×17.5 cm.
280. Srivara, 1, i, St. 32, iv, St. 30.
281. Sayyid Ali, f. 15a. 282. *Baharistan.*, pp. 44-45.
283. Forster, *Travels*, II, p. 19. 284. Sayyid Ali, f. 15a.
285. *Baharistan.*, p. 51 ; Haidar Malik, p. 46
286. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 434.
287. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, lxxx, p. 309 ; Hugel, *Travels*, pp. 116-19.
288. Irvine, *Marg*, Vol. VI, (1952-53), p. 44.
289. Srivara, (Dutt), p. 151. 290. Ibid., 1, vi, Stt. 27-32.
291. Ibid., iii, St. 64. 292. Tuzuk., II, p. 178.
293. Srivara, (Dutt), pp. 134-35.
294. Nizamuddin, p. 653. 295. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 434.
296. *Baharistan.*, pp. 53-54. 297. Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

EPILOGUE

Of all the Sultans who ascended the throne of Kashmir, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin has unquestionably been the greatest and the ablest. His reign was exceptional in every respect. For the work and personal accomplishments which stand to his credit, he, if sometimes equalled, is surpassed by none. The study of his character and achievements leaves an impact which endures, inspires, fascinates, enlightens. He embodied Plato's ideal of a philosopher-king only to further add to its dimensions. He had a genius for ingenuity and an ingenuity for versatility. He was not one man but many men rolled into one, each one great in his own right. He was a saint and a philosopher, a linguist and a composer of prose and poetry, a musicologist, a master of pyrotechnics and an expert in the science of making gun-powder, a physician, a kind ruler and an affectionate father, an ideal husband, an enlightened administrator and reformer, and a generous patron of all that was best in the known world. His was a many-splendoured genius. He was elevated to the positton of Vishnu incarnate by the inspired contemporary Sanskrit writers.

Yet he had his critics too. They failed to denounce him without enhancing his stature, like a discordant note in a melody. He lived after his ideals both in his public and in his private life. One finds in him the glimpses of Asoka's piety and devotion to kingly duties, Soloman's wisdom, Qarun's generosity, Akbar's radicalism and religious tolerance, and Al-Harun's sense of public welfare. But he was perhaps lacking in one respect. He had no Julius Caesar or Alexandar or Napoleon in him.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was a handsome man with a powerful built, broad shoulders, bushy eye-brows, a nose like the beak of a parrot with eyes, bright, tender and lotus-shaped.[1] He wore a majestic appearance with a sparkling forehead.[2] He had no grey hair and no wrinkles even when he was in his late fifties.[3] He died at an old age of sixtynine and his flowing beard was even then black.[4] The Sultan's escape from the incidents of old age was believed to have been owing to his having performed yogic exercises regularly.[5] He was endowed with ample royal and domestic virtues. His disposition was marked by kindness, perseverence, generosity and benevolence[6] in a degree rarely equalled. He displayed in a remarkable measure his power of intellect, wisdom and commonsense.[7] Jonaraja observes : "He was graced with power, kindness, and wisdom in a greater degree than any other king that had reigned before."[8] Mild and gentle in temperament,[9] pleasant and affable in his manners,[10] Zain-ul-Abidin was accessible to all.[11] Never did a man who came up to him for alms return disappointed from the palace-gates.[12] He never allowed the aged and the poor to starve or to perish.[13] One could have frequently witnessed the unique spectacle of the Sultan feeding thousands of mendicants, beggars, people and travellers for days together with rice, curries, curd, saffron and savoury cakes.[14] Simple in his habits,[15] he never looked at the wealth of others with "an avaricious and dishonest eye."[16] He never laid his hands at the State revenues. The expenditure of the Royal Household was exclusively met from the produce of the copper mines.[17]

Zain-ul-Abidin was a man of many accomplishments and of varied tastes and interests. A scholar in his own right, he was devoted to the study of philosophy, logic, literature in many languages, and other branches of knowledge.[18] He was well versed in Persian, Sanskrit, Kashmiri and Ladakhi.[19] He was a poet of no mean order, and compiled a *diwan* in Persian.[20] Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa was highly impressed by the beauty of idea and diction of the poetic composition which Zain-ul-Abidin had written for him.[21] Two works of prose in Persian also stand to his credit.[22] Attracted by his merits, the ruler of Sind thought it worthwhile to send him an ode written by himself in his praise.[23] Zain-ul-Abidin was a fine conversationalist, and has been mentioned as taking keen interest in discussions, and delight in the company of learned men.[24] He was proficient in the science of medicine, and often personally administered medicinal remedies.[25] He was adept in the art and science of music and pyrotechnics, and showed great skill and inventiveness in manufacturing fire-works and gun-powder.[26] The Sultan also applied himself to the improvement of his dress and "invested it with a peculiar beauty."[27] He was also interested in astronomy and, besides consulting the professional astronomers, he could himself observe and study the stars.[28] The range of Zain-ul-Abidin's personal achievements was thus amazingly varied and contrasting, for if he was interested in *Yoga* and music on the one hand, he engaged himself in the improvement of personal dress and the cannon on the other.

Zain-ul-Abidin was affectionate by nature and was highly attached to all his near and dear ones. His sons, on whom he showered all his kindness and love, grew up into profligate and avaricious men, addicted to drinking and prone to intrigues and rebellions. Yet he never ceased to be an affectionate father, and had to pay dearly for his softness. The father in him overcame the judge. While fighting against his rebellious son he would instruct his men not to harass him.[29] When his son Haji Khan, exiled for his rebellious conduct, returned, the Sultan broke into tears of joy, and the whole kingdom assumed a festive look in the midst of rejoicings, showering of gold and cloths of silk.[30] He was not the kind of person suitable for his mischievous sons. Had he believed in stern measures casting aside his misplaced affections, he could have been spared many of the evils which troubled his later years. Zain-ul-Abidin is also revealed as a man of intense emotions and affectionate disposition by his reaction to the death of all those whom he valued and loved. He despaired : "None of those with whom I have spent my former years is left behind ; the affliction which I feel for their absence will last to the end of my life."[31] Noted among those who predeceased him were his younger brother Muhammad, his ministers and counsellors Shirya Bhatta, Darya Khan, Vinna, Mahim Shri and Mir Khush Ahmad, his sister's son Qayam-ud-din, and his three queens. On Qayam-ud-din he bestowed all his affections and at his demise the Sultan felt as if his right hand had been removed.[32] Of his three queens, Makhdumah Khatun was the last to die in 1465 A.D. The Sultan loved her immensely, and her death was perhaps the saddest event of his life when he felt his body being burnt with sorrow, and the feeling of nothingness overtook him.[33]

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was free from all those vices which generally ruined the oriental rulers of early times. He was strictly moral in his conduct and never looked at the face of a strange woman.[34] Speaking of those years when Makhdumah Khatun was the only surviving queen, a chronicler writes that with all the royal virtues which Zain-ul-Abidin had, "he associated that domestic one so rarely practised, of strict fidelity to his only wife."[35] And his decision to remain alone even after her death for the remaining six years of his troubled life is a rare example in the medieval world of royalty characteristically humming with the amorous rumblings of the *harems*, concubines, and courtesans.

Zain-ul-Abidin was a pious man punctiliously devoted to religious meditation[36] and the observance of *Ramzan* fasts.[37] He often came to Zainalank, engaged himself in worship, and spent many forty days of the *Ramzan* in that place.[38] He put up a "venerable dignity" and was conspicuous by "the might of his virtues."[39] He was highly revered by the people of all classes as "a special servant of God and venerated as a saint."[40] He was adept in *Yoga*[41] and was believed to have attained the power of performing miracles.[42] His court-chronicler credits him with the conquest of his ever present internal enemies, the passions.[43] He would counsel his sons who showed signs of undue haste for capturing power : "To me it is very easy to abandon rule, and even to pass away from life, but when I am gone you will do nothing, and the time of your prosperity will not endure long, but in a short time you will obtain the recompense of your evil deeds and your dispositions."[44] He was self-willed and stubborn — the usual traits of a saint. And when he felt that he had outlived his usefulness he died, as he had lived, like a saint. Jahangir writes in his Memoirs : Zain-ul-Abidin "gave up eating and drinking, and passed forty days in this manner. He made not his eye acquainted with sleep, and employed himself after the manner of men of piety and austerity in the worship of God Almighty. On the fortieth day he gave up the deposit of his existence, and entered into the mercy of God."[45]

In the hobbies which he selected for his pastime one finds an expression of loftiness and of humanity. Unlike most oriental rulers, the thrill of game hunting never attracted him. He valued life and did not believe in unnecessary killing. In the manner of Asoka, Zain-ul-Abidin banned all hunting, "so that animals might not be killed."[46] He himself abstained from eating meat during the months of *Ramzan*.[47] The Sultan permitted the killing of life only to the extent that served useful purpose. He once remarked : "By eating meat with our teeth, flesh is served with flesh, and in such meals, which enriches our blood and gives us strength, I see no harm."[48] Zain-ul-Abidin forbade killing of birds and fishes in several tanks.[49] He fed fishes and afforded them protection.[50] He was a great lover of nature and enjoyed the beauty of spring in the midst of flowers of all kinds.[51] He is described as undertaking frequent boat-rides on the water-sheets of lakes and rivers.[52] The Dal was his favourite resort.[53] Zain-ul-Abidin indulged in drinks only occasionally and in moderation.[54] He felt more at home in the company of learned men, and was never tired of participating in scholarly discussions and witnessing the concerts of dance, drama and music.[55]

A man with such an impressive record of domestic virtues was expected to rule, as he did, for a given ideal. And, as we have seen in the foregoing pages, all his qualities of head and heart are reflected in every aspect of his personality as a ruler, administrator, and reformer. Zain-ul-Abidin was a zealous guardian of his kingdom's honour and the upholder of its territorial integrity. He did not wage any wars of aggression for pure self-aggrandisement. His military policy aimed at retaining and consolidating what had formed part of his father's and grandfather's dominions. To this end he fashioned his foreign policy. All those measures which he undertook, either backed by force or by diplomacy, were warranted by the exigencies of defence needs. His chief concern was the protection of the Valley of Kashmir. The strategy he adopted was the plugging of the vulnerable points in three directions from which the danger of external invasion could have been anticipated. This was done partly by advancing his frontiers beyond the confines of the encircling mountains, and partly by extending his political influence and establishing protectorates in strategic regions. The three directions were the north-east, north-west, and south-west which were rendered unsafe primarily by the existence of the Zo-jila, Jehlam Valley, and Toshamaidan and Pir Panjal routes respectively.

He took short as well as long-term measures. First, he posted military contingents under able commanders in the well-fortified hill castles guarding various passes leading to the Valley. Secondly, the north-east was secured by bringing the two mountain-kingdoms of Ladakh and Baltistan to submission as tributaries and by keeping a constant vigil in the region. Thirdly, the north west was rendered safe by the establishment of a protectorate in the Gandhara region across the Indus and by its being placed under his sister's son Qayam-ud-din. Fourthly, the south-west was protected first by placing Lohara and Rajauri under direct administrative control, and then by delinking Rajauri and placing it under the old ruling dynasty as a protectorate. He, however, took the precaution of securing its western flank by creating the frontier province of Naushahra under a Viceroy. Besides this, Zain-ul-Abidin diplomatically controlled Jasrat Khokhar of Sialkot and diverted his attention against Jammu and Delhi. It is in the handling of this issue that Zain-ul-Abidin's diplomatic genius found its fullest expression. Lastly, he sought to minimise the chances of aggression by forging friendly relations with certain rulers. The Sultanate of Delhi was already on its career of decline under the Sayyids and the Lodis, and therefore it presented no major threat to Kashmir. Yet he cultivated friendly relations with Buhlol Lodi. However, the area beyond the north-west region of India was chiefly held by the Timurid princes who often had the capacity of launching a full-scale invasion of India including Kashmir. But Zain-ul-Abidin had the prudence of perpetuating and strengthening friendly relations, begun in his father's time, with the greatest of Timur's successors, Shah Rukh and Mirza Abu Sa'id, who were both his contemporaries.

The kingdom which Zain-ul-Abidin so carefully preserved for half a century was governed with a high degree of efficiency. His predecessors had more or less maintained the political institutions evolved over the centuries under Kashmir's ancient rulers. Zain-ul-Abidin was the first Muslim king to have attempted with success a major administrative reorganisation with insight, wisdom, and maturity. He was undoubtedly a great administrator and reformer, and his claim for greatness lies not so much in his ability for innovation as in his ingenuity for reforms. His was a constructive genius of a high order, and he believed in reconstruction and improvement rather than in unimaginative and arbitrary replacement. He retained many of the earlier institutions which could serve any useful purpose after being infused with fresh vigour and efficiency. It is, indeed, noteworthy that he preferred to retain in several cases even the Sanskrit nomenclatures to those in Persian of officials and departments as, for instance, *Dharmadhikara*, *Pradvivak*, *Mahattama*, *Gananapati*, and *Margesa*.

The rule of Zain-ul-Abidin was characterised by principles of moderation, justice, and generosity. Devoted to the cause of people's welfare, he abolished oppressive taxes and penalties, and the inequitous exactions of tributes by government officials. He attempted with singular success to cleanse the public life of corruption. With a view to achieving an efficient working of his government, Zain-ul-Abidin recognised individual merit, and threw open offices without discrimination to men of ability. He had in his administration people of different religions holding high official positions. It is, indeed, remarkable that the King's Council had, besides Hindus and Muslims, a Buddhist member Tilakacharya also.

Zain-ul-Abidin was a just ruler and nothing could stand in his way of dispensing justice strictly but generously. No one, however important he may have been, was ever exempted from the due process of law. Sayyid Ullah, for example, was a holy divine from Mecca, yet he was punished for the murder of a *Yogi*. Never in his reign was a man punished with death or mutilation of limbs for thefts or for crimes of a lesser magnitude. Death penalty was inflicted only for murders or for acts of high treason against the State. The Sultan rather took upon himself the duty of looking after the economic interests of his people, even including those of the criminals. He considered the commission of robberies and thefts as a reflection upon the efficiency of his government. Such crimes came under the scheme of reforms ; he did not allow the criminal being subjected to inhuman rigours of punishment so common in the oriental world of his day. The thieves and robbers, fettered in chains, were made to work on fields and public buildings, and to learn earning their livelihood by hard work. He, in fact, had rightly understood that the people were driven to acts of brigandage only when they were left with no means of subsistence. Zain-ul-Abidin was, in this respect, far ahead of his time, and his reforms anticipated, both in spirit and in content, the movement for criminal reform which has increasingly engaged the attention of criminologists in modern times. The Sultan adopted the policy of fixing responsibility for crimes on the residents of the villages in the neighbourhood of which they were committed. This policy freed his kingdom of the crimes.

The steps Zain-ul-Abidin took for the improvement of agriculture were motivated by his passion for novelty as well as by his anxiety to make his kingdom self-sufficient in food. He vastly extended the area for cultivation of rice, the staple food of the Kashmiris, and a large net-work of canals which he constructed or renovated provided sufficient water needed for paddy fields. The outcome was the desired self-sufficiency in food, and the low prices which obtained are emphasised both by the Sanskrit and the Persian chroniclers. The creation of floating lands in the lakes for vegetable and fruit cultivation, and his experiment to grow sugarcane speak highly of the Sultan's love for novelties.

Not many monarchs in history have emphasised so much, as Zain-ul-Abidin has done, a ruler's obligations to his people. He was like a father to his people, making enquires after their welfare himself in disguise, or through his secret service, undertaking extensive tours of areas affected by floods and famines, and feeding the victims for months. He not only reduced the burden of taxation on his people, but also thought it fit to leave behind an earnest appeal engraved on copper plates for his successors to follow. His code of laws inscribed on copper plates was placed in all the public markets and halls of justice. Zain-ul-Abidin was aware of the exploiting instinct of the merchant class. He was quick to frustrate their attempts for creating artificial shortages of the necessaries of life by frequently fixing their prices, issuing strict orders against hoarding, and releasing stocks of grains from the government granaries. The liquidation of the private debts of poor people to their rich creditors under the government orders was a remarkable measure and speaks highly of the Sultan as a humanist of the highest order. Mention of the Sultan's intervention on behalf of the *Sudra* women for widow-marriage against the intimidation of the *Brahmanas* may also be made here.

The benefits of his just and benevolent rule percolated to the people of all classes irrespective of caste, creed, or social status. His non-Muslim subjects enjoyed religious toleration to a degree rarely equalled in the Islamic world. Zain-ul-Abidin had taken over as the Sultan at a time when the Hindu population of Kashmir was seething with discontent under the massive drive of proselytization. When he died over half a century later, he had earned the gratitude of the Hindus expressed in the title of *Bod Shah* (the Great Sovereign) which he received and by the status of Vishnu to which he was elevated in glaring contrast to his father's title of *Butshikan* (the idol-breaker) conferred upon the latter with pride by the Persian chroniclers. The contrast is, indeed, Zain-ul-Abidin's measure of greatness. Rarely does one come across in history a ruler allowing the Muslim converts to go back to the fold of Hinduism, causing the run-away Hindus to return and to live in peace and dignity in Kashmir, lavishing free gifts of lands to the *Brahmanas*, offering the highest positions also to non-Muslims on merit, repairing the desecrated and fallen temples as also building the new ones, visiting the Hindu shrines as a devout pilgrim and participating in the fairs, festivals, and rituals of the Hindus. This all was carried to such a degree that a Persian chronicler despaired that even the *Qazis*, the *Ulama* and the *Sayyids* followed the Hindu ways of life. Some solitary voices of obscurantism were heard against Zain-ul-Abidin's liberal measures but he silenced them with a firm attitude. Scarcely in the annals of Islamic kingship is any record comparable to that of Zain-ul-Abidin. He added new dimensions to the Islamic ideals of kingship for meeting the requirements of ruling over a heterogeneous population. He recognised the existence of *Zimmis* without discriminating against them, retained the *Jizya* without collecting it, appointed a *Shaikh-ul-Islam* for guidance without always accepting his *fatawa*, and received the title of *Naib-i-Amir-ul-Muminin* from the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt without enforcing the Islamic law with orthodoxy. Zain-ul-Abidin, in fact, reared up the fabric of an Islamic State based on the ideals of liberalism which his intimate fellowship with the *Sufis* had inculcated in him. His greatest merit as a liberal ruler lies in the fact that he practically demonstrated that a Muslim State could be made to bestow a full status of citizenship on non-Muslim subjects, at least in practice, if not in theory.

The thread of Zain-ul-Abidin's liberal policy may also be seen running through the educational system that he devised and the language policy that he adopted. The courses of study were reoriented on a secular basis, at the same time, keeping in view the requirements of both communities. Zain-ul-Abidin encouraged the revival of Hindu learning and the Hindus enjoyed as much freedom for the study of their *Shastras* as their Muslim counterparts. Even a common syllabus was devised to bring the two communities closer, for the Sultan rightly understood that the acquaintance of each other's religion and philosophy was essential to foster a spirit of understanding and toleration. The benefit of liberal education was extended to the weakest and the poorest at State expense ; there were families, which could seldom dream of higher learning, and which produced men celebrated for their erudition. Realizing the importance of giving instruction through the mother-tongue, the Sultan introduced Kashmiri, besides Sanskrit and Persian, as the medium of education at all levels. To make his policy a success, a Translation Department was set up for making available the translations of important works in the three different languages which received the king's attention in an equal measure. It is remarkable that his reign witnessed a renaissance of the classical Sanskrit literature along with an advancement in Persian learning. The Sanskrit retained its status as the State language.

Zain-ul-Abidin's generosity for patronage of scholars and artists, both Hindus and Muslims, is rarely surpassed. His court was the rendezvous of celebrated scholars, painters, musicians, dancers, calligraphists and artisans, many of whom came from different parts of India and of the Islamic world. A massive drive for architectural constructions characterised his long reign. The laying of cities and towns with magnificent palaces, houses and gardens, the execution of exquisite works of beautification and public utility, the introduction, improvement, or revival of various arts, domestic or commercial, of Indian and foreign origin add lustre to his glorious reign of over half a century. He was the architect of a flourishing, prosperous, and tolerant society where people lived with comfort, understanding, and spirit of religious toleration.

The Indian ruler whom he closely resembles in versatility and humanism is Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) whose reign is universally regarded to have symbolised the culmination of the spirit of religious toleration and cultural synthesis in the whole range of Indo-Islamic history. While Akbar rides high in the estimation of scholars, the names of Ala-ud-din Husain Shah of Bengal (1493-1519 A.D.), Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur (1580-1627 A.D.), and Zain-ul-Abidin, are also sometimes mentioned, but casually, among the enlightened Muslim rulers of medieval India. This was alright so far but not any further, for Zain-ul-Abidin with such a spectacularly impressive record deserves a much higher place in Indian history. He not only gatecrashes into the pantheon of great Indo-Muslim rulers but also secures a claim for sitting at its apex.

Thus, as a man and a ruler, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin stands conspicuous, and deserves to be classed among the greatest Muslim rulers the world has witnessed through the corridors of time. His chronicler writes, surely without much exaggeration, that he performed "what was beyond the power of the past sovereigns and what will be beyond the ability of future kings."[56] He further goes on to add : "Time is endless, and great is the expanse of the world, so that some future kings in some distant country may believe it possible for them to perform such worthy and enterprising acts, and accomplish deeds which may almost rival his."[57]

REFERENCES

1. Jonaraja, Stt. 757, 779, 797 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 24, vii, Stt. 259-60 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
2. Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 254, 260.
3. Jonaraja, St. 975. 4. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 224.
5. Jonaraja, St. 975.
6. Ibid., Stt. 757, 797 ; Srivara, 1, i, St. 29 ; Nizamuddin, p. 654.
7. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 30 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383 ; Nizamuddin, p. 656.
8. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 80.
9. Srivara, 1, i, St. 26, vii, St. 142.
10. Nizamuddin, p. 655. 11. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 269.
12. Ibid., i, St. 30. 13. Nizamuddin, p. 654.
14. Srivara, 1, v, Stt. 15, 16, 20-23, 48-53.
15. Ibid., i, St. 42. 16. Nizamuddin, p. 654.
17. Ibid., p. 655 ; *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
18. Srivara, 1, i, St. 28, vii, Stt. 269, 272.
19. Nizamuddin, pp. 658-59.
20. *Baharistan.*, pp. 52-53 ; Haidar Malik, p. 46.
21. Srivara, 1, vi, Stt. 11-12. 22. Ibid., vii, St. 146.
23. Nizamuddin, p. 659.
24. Srivara, 1, iv, St. 30, vii. St. 271.
25. *Ain.*, II, p. 383.
26. Srivara, 1, iv, Stt. 27-28, 30 ; Nizamuddin, pp. 652-53.
27. Srivara, 1, vi, St. 32.
28. Ibid., i, St. 142, ii, St. 10 ; Jonaraja, Stt. 824, 827.
29. Srivara, 1, i, St. 169. 30. Ibid., iv, Stt. 51-54.
31. Ibid., (Dutt), p. 167. 32. Ibid., 1, vii, Stt. 49-52.
33. Ibid., Stt. 47-48.
34. Nizamuddin, p. 654 ; Jonaraja, St. 822.
35. Firishta, p. 470. 36. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 171.
37. Ibid., St. 173 ; Nizamuddin, p. 657.
38. *Tuzuk.*, I, p. 94. 39. Ibid., p. 95.
40. *Ain.*, II, p. 383. 41. Nizamuddin, p. 661.
42. *Ain.*, II, p. 383 ; *Tuzuk.*, I, p. 95 ; Nizamuddin, p. 661.
43. Jonaraja, St. 778. 44. *Tuzuk.*, I, p. 95.
45. Ibid. Also see Srivara, 1, vii, Stt. 179-83.
46. *Ain.*, II, p. 383 ; Nizamuddin, p. 657.
47. Srivara, 1, vii, St. 173 ; Nizamuddin, p. 657.
48. Srivara, (Dutt), pp. 166-67.
49. Jonaraja, St. 953. 50. Srivara, 1, v, St. 17.
51. Ibid., Stt. 2, 43-48. 52. Ibid., St. 3, v, Stt. 33, 99.
53. Ibid., v, Stt. 32-34. 54. Ibid., iv, Stt. 44 Sqq.
55. Ibid., iv, Stt. 4-18, 30.
56. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 90. 57. Ibid.

APPENDIX A

IDENTIFICATION OF SOME PLACES

(*i*) *Thatta and Mudgarvyala*

Three versions regarding the venue of the battle of Thanna are given by contemporary and later chroniclers :

1. (1) Some later Persian sources place it in Uri : (*Haidar Malik*, p. 32 ; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, (Urdu tr.), p. 170).
2. (2) According to others, it was fought in Thatta : (Badauni, p 381 ; Yahya b. Ahmad, p. 54).
3. (3) Jonaraja mentions the name of Mudgarvyala : (St. 740).

For this controversy we have to look into what the contemporary sources have to say about it. The name of the place is mentioned only by two contemporary chroniclers—Yahya b. Ahmad and Jonaraja. According to Yahya, the place where this battle was fought was Thatta. Parmu's identification of Thatta with Thanna, though correct, is not based on conclusive evidence : (pp. 134-136, 10n). Mohibbul Hasan (p. 69) wrongly quotes Yahya b. Ahmad and Firishta who mention Thatta and not Thanna.

Thatta is in Sind and it is difficult to imagine how the two armies drifted to such a distant place for a battle. Thatta is mentioned by Badauni : (p. 381). His statement that the battle was fought "in one of the mountain passes" rules out the possibility of identifying it with the Thatta of Sind the latter being situated on the plains of the Indus. But a conclusive evidence for the identification of Thatta with Thanna comes from the pen of Jahangir. Describing his itinerary from Kashmir to Delhi through the Pir Panjal Pass via Rajauri, the Emperor writes : "On Tuesday, the 5th, going by the Pass of Pir Panjal the camp was fixed at Poshana. ......On Wednesday, the 6th, we pitched at Bahramgulla. ......Thursday, the 7th, the village of Thana became the encamping place.......On Friday, the 8th, Rajauri was the camping-ground." : (*Tuzuk* , II, pp. 179-80). In the text "Thatta" is mentioned but Beveridge, its Editor, changes it into ' Thana" with the remark, "Text wrongly has Thatta."

The foregoing establishes the following facts :

(*a*) Thatta where the battle was fought was a place in the vicinity of Rajauri.

(*b*) Mention of Thatta in place of Thanna in the text of Jahangir's Memoirs as well cannot be accepted as a transcriptional or a "clerical error" as is supposed by Parmu in cases of both Yahya b. Ahmad and Badauni's chronicles: (Parmu, pp. 134-35, 10n). It is not understood how a similar error was committed by copyists of all the three chronicles.

(*c*) Mention of Mudgarvyala by Jonaraja, an official chronicler, cannot be easily set aside.

Thus we can safely conclude that this place was known to the medieval historians as Thatta which is now survived in a small village known as Thanna in the Rajauri area (Lat. 33° 33', Long. 74° 25'). It is located at a distance of 14 miles from Rajauri to the side of Kashmir : (Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 156, 525). Mudgarvyala of Jonaraja was its ancient name. The version that this battle took place somewhere in Uri is completely ruled out, for it is not supported by any contemporary evidence.

(*ii*) *Shaya*

Shaya is identified with Sheh (pronounced Shel) in Ladakh. (Francke, I.A., *Notes from the Tibetan Records*, Vol. XXXVII, (1908), p. 188). It is the Shizi of Haidar Malik (p. 47), Yeshya of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* (p. 47) and Samah Ray of Sayyid Ali (f. 15b) in Tibet for they refer to Ladakh as Tibet. Jonaraja's Shayadesa stands both for the territory of Sheh and the whole of Ladakh of which Sheh was the capital : (Petech, I.H.Q., (Supplement), (1939), Vol. XV, p. 116). Sheh is now a village 8 miles to the south-east of Leh on the Indus and it has always been "famous for its large Buddhist images" : (Francke, I.A., *Notes from the Tibetan Records*, Vol. XXXVII, (1908), p. 188).

(*iii*) *Udabhandapura, Gandhara and Sindhu*

Both Jonaraja and Srivara refer to Gandhara in a much limited sense as would be clear from the following :

(*a*) Udabhandapura is also known as Ohind and Waihand. Stein identifies it with the ancient capital of Gandhara (*R.T.*, II, p. 337) which is frequently mentioned by Alberuni under the name of Waihand : (*India* (Sachau), I, pp. 206, 259, 317). It is survived in the modern village of Und situated on the right bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, p. 37). Jonaraja's references to the conquest of Gandhara and Udabhandapura (Stt. 372-73, 375, 577, 578, 829, 832 etc.) distinctly establish the existence of the latter as a separate political entity which was once the capital of the former.

(*b*) Jonaraja mentions the rulers of Udabhandapura and Sindhu fighting as allies against Zain-ul-Abidin's invasion :

(St. 832). Srivara mentions the occurrence of a civil war in Kashmir under Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-1484 A.D.) in which the princes of Sindhu participated : (Stt. 212-13). These references supply us sufficient data to search for Sindhu in the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir close to Udabhandapura.

(*c*) Adam Khan fled from Kashmir when the royal forces moved to suppress his rebellion in the Sopor region in the west of Kashmir. He evidently fled along with his followers through the western route of the Jehlam Valley. Referring to his flight, Srivara states that Adam Khan arrived "in the country of Sindhu by the way of Shahibhanga after crossing the Sindhu river." : (Dutt, p. 131). Shahibhanga is identified with Gandhara : (See Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 86, 2n). Gandhara comprised the districts of Rawalpindi and Peshawar lying to the eastern and western sides of the Indus respectively. Srivara's Gandhara was only confined to the eastern part, i.e., Rawalpindi district, for Adam Khan had reached Sindhu on the western side after crossing the Indus. Therefore, Sindhu should be placed in western Gandhara above Udabhandapura in the Peshawar district. This agrees with the Persian translation of Srivara's chronicle in which the country of Sindhu has been identified with the Nilab, i.e., Upper Indus region : (See Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro., p. 86, 2n). The Gandhara of Jonaraja and Srivara is thus the eastern Gandhara, and Udabhandapura and Sindhu are the southern and northern parts of western Gandhara along the Indus in the Peshawar district.

(*iv*) *Mandavyagarh*

Mandu, the capital of Malwa in the 15th century, was differently known to the Sanskritists as Mandava, Mandavyapura, Mandapapura, Mandapadurga, Mandavgarh etc. : (See Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp. 94, 350 ; Dey, *Geographical Dictionary* etc., p. 124 ; Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, p. 904 ; Day, *Medieval Malwa*, p. 452). The Mandavyagauda of Srivara (1, vi, St. 10.) is evidently a transcriptional error for Mandavyagarh. We know through independent sources that Mahmud I of Malwa (1436-1469 A.D.), a contemporary of Zain-ul-Abidin, was a Khalji ruler : (See Day, *Medieval Malwa*, pp. 93, 217). It agrees with Srivara if Khalachya is identified with Khalji. For Zain-ul-Abidin's relations with Malwa, both Parmu (p. 164 and 163n) and (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 73 and 5n) have referred to Srivara. But there is nothing in the referred pages which admits of any such interpretation. The error seems to have passed into Mohibbul Hasan's work through Parmu's Ph D. Thesis which the former consulted without acknowledgement before its publication : (Parmu, p. 33 and 73n).

(*v*) *Chibh*

The place where Haji Khan fled with his army after the battle of Mallasila is mentioned as Bhimbhar in the Persian sources (Nizamuddin, p 664 ; *Munich MS*., ff. 75a-b), while Srivara calls it Chibh : (I, i, St. 167). That the two places are identical is established by Srivara's statement elsewhere that one Mir Thakur while travelling from Kishtwar to Chibh passed through Jammu : (1, i, Stt. 46-47). It is precisely where Bhimbhar is situated.

(*vi*) *Trahgam*

N.B. Roy has confused Trahgam with modern Trigam : (*Ain* , II, p. 394). Trigam or ancient Trigami is a village situated on the left bank of the Jehlam at its old confluence with the Sind river 1¼ miles to the S.W. of Shadipur : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, pp. 329, 479. Also see Stein's Map entitled "*Parihasapura and Confluence of Vitasta and Sindhu*"). But Trahgam should be looked for in Kramarajya in the direction of Drav from where Pandu Chak carried his raid to Zainagiri. Drav denotes the modern Kishanganga Valley from below Sardi as far as Karnav in the north-west frontier region bordering the Kashmir Valley : (Stein, *R.T.*, II, viii, 2707-9n). Trahgam should, therefore, be safely identified with the modern village of Trigumma (Lat. 34° 5′, long. 74° 12′) in the Lolab Valley thirty miles north-west of Baramula : (See *Great Trigonometrical Survey of India Map of Kashmir*, 1873). Trahgam in Kamraj (Kramarajya) is referred to by Abul Fazl as the residence of the *Chaks* : (*Ain.*, II, p. 365).

APPENDIX B

FIXATION OF SOME DATES

(*i*) *Date of Sikandar's Marriage*

Sultan Sikandar is recorded to have died in 1413 A. D. at the age of 32 years after a rule of 24 years : (Singh, *R. T.*, p. 324). If this statement of the Persian chroniclers about Sikandar's death is to be believed, his age at his accession would have been only eight years. It is somewhat corroborated by Jonaraja when he states that he was only an infant when he became Sultan of Kashmir : (Dutt, p. 54. Also see J. R. A. S., (1918), p. 454). Sikandar must have been a grown up boy when he attacked Ohind and accepted Meraj as his wife. Mohibbul Hasan has no evidence to support his statement that he attacked Ohind during the early part of his reign : (p. 61). If we allow a period of three to four years for the birth of the first two sons, Mir Khan and Shahi Khan, to Meraj after her marriage with Sikandar, and accept that Shahi Khan was born in 1401 A. D. (Vide Chapter II, p. 25) taking Sikandar to be at least sixteen years of age at the time of his marriage, then the year of attack and marriage both may safely be fixed around 1397-98 A.D. It is further strengthened by the fact that Shahi Khan was the second son of Meraj, and her eldest son, Mir Khan, according to Firishta, was a minor when he ascended the throne in 1413 A. D. : (p. 467).

(*ii*) *Date of Saif-ud-din's Death*

The year of Saif-ud-din's death is not mentioned but Jonaraja states that had he remained alive for four more years, he would have tasted the fruits of his sins with the rise of Shahi Khan : (St. 682). It clearly means that Saif-ud-din died four years before Shahi Khan's accession which is fixed at 1419 A.D. : (See iii, below). This gives 1415 A.D. as the year of Saif-ud-din's death.

(*iii*) *Date of Zain-ul-Abidin's First Accession*

No chronicler mentions the date. We have fixed Ali Shah's brief restoration in Oct-Nov., 1419 A.D. (See Chapter II, p. 33). It is obvious that he set out for the pilgrimage in the same year, for it was within a few months of his departure from Kashmir, as the subsequent events show, that he was restored to the throne by the ruler of Jammu. The dates of *Haj* calculated for the years 1419 and 1420 A.D. are 2nd Feb. and 22nd Jan. respectively. Obviously, Ali Shah planned to reach Mecca before 22nd Jan., 1420 A.D., and not 2nd Feb. 1419 A.D. Keeping in view the mode and difficulties of transport in those days, and allowing a period of about six months for a royal personage, with all the facilities that he had, to complete his journey, we may roughly assign July-August (1419 A.D.) to his departure from Kashmir and the consequent accession of Shahi Khan to the throne.

(*iv*) *Date of Ali Shah's Restoration*

No date is mentioned in the chronicles. But since Zain-ul-Abidin ascended the throne for the second time in May-June, 1420 A.D. and since we learn from Jonaraja that the duration of Ali Shah's second reign was 5-6 months (St. 727), we may safely fix the restoration of Ali Shah in Oct-Nov., 1419 A.D. This is corroborated by another statement of Jonaraja that the Jammu ruler brought Ali Shah to Kashmir in the autumn (St. 712), i e., Oct-Nov.

(*v*) *Date of the Battle of Suyyapura* (*Sopor*)

There is some confusion regarding this date for we find mentioned in Srivara's chronicle two different dates, the *Laukika* years 4535 (1, iii, St. 94) and 4533 (1, iii, St. 115) corresponding to 1459 and 1457 A.D. respectively. But we also know from Srivara that after the battle of Mallasila of 1452 A.D., Adam Khan ruled Kramarajya for five years : (I, ii, St. 5). This fixes the date at 1457 A.D. (1452+5=1457 A.D.) with absolute certainty. The other date, 1459 A.D., which obviously is an error, has gone into the works of Parmu (p. 169) and Mohibbul Hasan (p. 77) without verification.

APPENDIX C

A RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

This is based on a solitary example of Darya Khan who came very close to the Sultan possibly by sheer dint of ability and was prompty appointed to a high position of ministerial responsibility : (See Jonaraja, Stt. 962-63 and Srivara 1, vii, Stt. 52-53). Srikanth Kaul's interpretation of Jonaraja's verses (Bo. ed., Stt. 1279-80) attributes Darya Khan's elevation chiefly to his conversion to Islam : (*R.T.*, Intro., p. 107 and 3n). But there are certain factors which militate against this view : First, the veracity of additional verses in the Bombay Edition (Devanagari recension) of Jonaraja's text is not wholly beyond doubt : (Srikanth Kaul, *R.T.*, Intro , pp. 15-18). Secondly, the said verses are subject to another interpretation which does not suggest the conversion theroy. Thirdly, Darya Khan's quick elevation could have excited the jealousy of Jonaraja and prevented him from taking a dispassionate view of the situation. Fourthly, it does not fit into the over-all image of the Sultan portrayed by the chroniclers including Jonaraja.

APPENDIX D

A NOTE ON MAKHDUMAH KHATUN

The queen's name is not mentioned by any authority. However, Srivara calls her Bodha Khatona belonging to the Sayyid family : (1, vii, St. 47). "*Bodha*" is the corruption of Kashmiri "*Bod*", meaning "the Great". Bodha Khatona or Bod Khatun would then mean, "the Great Lady or Mistress." It is thus not the name but the epithet by which the first queen of Zain-ul-Abidin was known. There is a Persian inscription on a tomb-stone in *Mazar-i-Bahauddin*, also called *Mazar-i-Kalan*, in Srinagar :

"*Wafat-i-Hazrat Makhdumah Khatun Ki Sal Hasht sad O haftad biguzasht*", i.e., Makhdumah Khatun died in 870 A.H. (1465 A.D.).

Who was Makhdumah Khatun ? Parmu regards her as the queen of Zain-ul-Abidin but does not assign any reason : (p. 166). However, the following reasons estabiish her identity as the queen of Zain-ul-Abidin with full certainty :

First, according to a Persian source, a queen of Zain-ul-Abidin sold her ornaments and purchased a piece of land from the proceeds thereof and predetermined it to be her burial place. It was here, the chronicler further adds, at Zain-ul-Abidin's instance, that Shaikh Bahauddin, the *Pir* of the royal family, was buried after his death, giving it the name *Mazar-i-Bahauddin* : (Rafi-ud-din, Nawadir-ul-Akhbar, f. 47a). It also contains the grave of Makhdumah Khatun. Secondly, we also learn from another Persian source that Mir Sayyid Hasan, the nephew of Sayyid Mahmud Baihaqi, after his death by poison, was buried in the *Mazaristan-i-Sadaat*, i.e., the grave-yard of the *Sayyids*. (*Baharistan.*, p. 43). In the middle of *Mazar-i-Bahauddin* there is a small enclosure exclusively preserving the graves of the *Sayyids* and their family members including that of Makhdumah Khatun. This enclosure is referred to in the Persian source as *Mazaristan-i-Sadaat*. Thirdly, the date of her death mentioned in the inscription is 1465 A.D. It is partly corroborated by Srivara who, without mentioning it precisely, notices her death in the sequence of events of Zain-ul-Abidin's last few years which quite agrees with this date : (1, vii, St. 47 Sqq). Fourthly, Makhdumah Khatun is again not a name but an epithet which means, "the Royal Mistress" which agrees with Srivara's "the Great Lady." Moreever, in no inscription on the graves of queens of this royal line are the names mentioned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

KASHMIRI

Avatara Bhatta : *Banasurkatha*, Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

Ganak Prashast : *Sukhdukh Mohamayajal Charitam*, Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

PERSIAN

Aba Rafi-ud-din : *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Baba Nasib : *Tazkira-i-Mashaikh-i-Kashmir*, A.S.B.

Badi-ud-din Abul Qasim : *Gauhar-i-Alam*, A.S.B.

Baharistan-i-Shahi (anonymous) : Research Library, Srinagar.

Birbal Kachru : *Majmua-ut-Tawarikh*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Daud Mishkati : *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Haidar Malik Chadura : *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*,

- (*i*) Research Library, Srinagar.
- (*ii*) India Office Library.

Hasan b. Ali Kashmiri : *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Bodleian.

Mulla Ali Raina : *Tazkirat-ul-Arifin*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Narayan Kaul Ajiz : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Nasib-ud-din Ghazi : *Nur-nama*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Pir Hasan Shah : *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, 4 Vols., Research Library, Srinagar.

Sayyid Ali : *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Shaikh Abdul Wahhab : *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir : Persian tr. of the *Rajataranginis* of Jonaraja and Srivara (microfilm), Research Library, Srinagar.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir (*Intikhab*) : Epitome of the Persian tr. of the *Rajataranginis* of Jonaraja and Srivara (microfilm, *Munich MS.*), Research Library, Srinagar.

Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab (anonymous) : Transcript, Chapter IV, Research Library, Srinagar.

SANSKRIT

Jonaraja : *Commentary on Bharvi's Kiratarjuniya*, Research Library, Srinagar.

Srivaka : *Sangit Sangrah*, Research Library, Srinagar.

B. PRINTED SOURCES AND TRANSLATIONS

PERSIAN

Abul Fazl : (*i*) *Ain-i-Akbari*, English tr., Vol. I by Blochmann, Calcutta, 1939, Vol. II by H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1949 ; (*ii*) *Akbar-nama*, English tr., Vol. I by H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1907.

Al-Biruni : *Kitab-ul-Hind*, English tr. as *Al-Biruni's India* by E.C. Sachau, 2 Vols., London, 1910.

Badauni, Abdul Qadir : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, English tr by G.S.A. Ranking. Calcutta, 1898.

Elliot, H.M. and Dowson, J : *History of India as told by its own Historians*, 8 Vols., London, 1866-77.

Firishta, Muhammad Qasim : (1) *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Lucknow, A.H. 1321.

(2) English tr. as *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India till the year 1612* by J. Briggs, Vol. IV, London, 1829.

Gardizi, M : *Kitab Zain-ul-Akhbar*, edited by M. Nazim, Berlin, 1920.

Jahangir, Emperor : Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, English tr. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, 2 Vols., London, 1909-1914.

Maulavi Muhammad Ibrahim : *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu tr. Vol. II, Srinagar, 1957.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat : *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, English tr. by E.D. Ross and N. Elias, London, 1895.

Muhammad Azam Didamari : *Tarikh-i-Azami*, Urdu tr. by Munshi Ashraf Ali as *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Delhi, 1946.

Muin-ud-din Miskin : *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Amritsar, A.H. 1322.

Nizamuddin Ahmad : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, edited by B. Dey and H. Husain, 3 Vols., Calcutta, 1927-35 ; English tr. by B. Dey and B. Prashad, Calcutta, 1927-39.

Nur-nama : Edited by Muhammad Amin Kamil, Srinagar, 1966.

Rizvi, A.A. : *Tughluq Kalin Bharat* (*Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*), Pt. II, Aligarh, 1957.

Roy N.B. : *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941.

SANSKRIT

Jonaraja : (1) *Rajatarangini*,

(*i*) Edited by Srikanth Kaul, Hoshiarpur, 1966, Hindi tr. by Raghunath Singh, Varanasi, 1972 ;

(*ii*) Calcutta Edition, 1835, English tr. by J.C. Dutt as Kings of Kashmir, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1898.

(*iii*) Bombay Edition, 1896.

(2) *Commentary on Mankha's Srikanthacarita*, edited by Durgaprasad and Kasinath Pandurang Parb, Bombay, 1900.

(3) *Commentary on Jayanaka's Prithvirajavijaya*, edited by G. Buhler, Calcutta.

Kalhana : *Rajatarangini*, English tr. by M.A. Stein, 2 Vols., London, 1900.

Ksemendra : (1) *Lokaprakasa*, edited by J.Z. Shastri, Srinagar, 1947.

(2) *Narmamala*, edited by M. Kaul, Srinagar, 1923.

(3) *Samayamatrka*, Hindi tr. by R.S. Tripathi, Varanasi, 1967.

Sri Harsa : *Naisadha*, edited by Sivadatta, Bombay, 1894.

Srivara : (1) *Jaina-Rajatarangini*,

(*i*) Edited by Srikanth Kaul, Hoshiarpur, 1966.

(*ii*) Calcutta Edition, 1835, English tr. by J.C. Dutt as *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1898.

(2) *Kathakautaka*, edited by Sivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parb, Bombay, 1901.

Suka : *Rajatarangini*, English tr. by J.C. Dutt as *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1898.

C. TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

Bernier, F : *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, (1656-68), edited by A. Constable, Westminster, 1891.

Forster, G.A. : *A Journey from Bengal to England, through the Northern part of India, Kashmire* etc., 2 Vols., London, 1808.

Marco Polo : *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, edited and translated by H. Yule, 2 Vols., London, 1903.

Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. : *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan, and the Punjab ; in Ladakh and Kashmir* etc. (1819-1825), Vol. II, London, 1937.

D. MODERN WORKS AND JOURNALS

Aggarwal, H.R. : *A Short History of Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1963.

Aghnides, N.P. : *Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, New York, 1916.

Arnold, T.W. : *The Caliphate*, Oxford, 1924.

Awasthi, A.B.L. : *Studies in Skandapurana*, Part I, 1966.

Azizuddin : *Tarikh-i-Chitral*, 1897.

Bamzai, P.N.K. : *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1962.

Banerjee, J.M. : *History of Firuz Shah Tughluq*, Delhi, 1967.

Bates, C.E. : *A Gazetteer of Kashmir and the Adjoining Districts* etc., Calcutta, 1873.

Brown, C.J. : *The Coins of India*, Varanasi, 1973.

Brown, P. : *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Calcutta, 1942.

Buhler, G. : *Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana aud Central India*, J.R.A.S. (Bombay), Extra Number (XII), 1877.

Cambridge History of India : Vol. III, Cambridge, 1927.

Cole, H.H. : *Illustrations From Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, London, 1869.

Cunningham, A. : *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, Varanasi, 1963.

Day, U.N. : *Medieval Malwa*, Delhi, 1965.

Deambi, B.K. : *A Thesis on a Study of Sarada Inscriptions*, etc., Punjab University, Chandigarh, (MS), 1967.

Delmerick, J.C. : *Coins of the Kings of Delhi and Kashmir*, J.A.S B., 1876, XLV, 291-97.

Dey, N.L. : *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* Delhi, 1971.

Drew, F. : *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875.

Farmer, H.G. : *A History of the Arabic Music to the 13th Century*, London, 1929.

Fauq, Muhammad Din :

(1) *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Urdu), Lahore, 1910.

(2) *Shabab-i-Kashmir* (Urdu), Lahore, 1927.

(3) *Tarikh-i-Badshahi* (Urdu), Lahore, 1944.

Fergusson, J. : *History of the Indian aud Eastern Architecture*, 2, Vols., London, 1910.

Francke, A.H. :

(1) *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1914-1926.

(2) *The History of the Western Tibetan Regions*, London, 1907.

Ganguly, D.C. : *History of the Parmar Dynasty*, Dacca, 1933.

Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh : Delhi, 1974.

Ghoshal, U.N. :

(1) *The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*, I.H.Q., XVIII, 195-207, XIX, 156-72.

(2) *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, 1930.

Gib, H.A.R. and J.H. Kramers : *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1953.

Gode, P.K. : *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, Vol. I, Hoshiarpur, 1961.

Grierson, G. : *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II, Calcutta, 1919.

Growse, F.S. : *Architecture of Kashmir*, Calcutta Review, 1872, LIV, 15-34.

Habib, M. : *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, Aligarh, 1927.

Habib, M. and Nizami, K.A. : *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, Delhi, 1970.

Haig, W. : *The Chronology and Genealogy of the Muhammadan Kings of Kashmir*, J.R.A.S., 1918, 451-68.

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J.P.J. :

(1) *History of the Kishtwar State*, J.P.H.S., IV, 30-38.

(2) *History of the Jammu State*, J.P.H.S., VIII, 103-51.

(3) *History of the Punch State*, J.P.H.S., IX, 106-27.

(4) *History of the Rajauri State*, J.P.H.S., IX, 139-49.

Irvine, J. : *The Kashmir Shawl*, Marg, Bombay, 1952-53, VI, No. 1, 43-50.

Jarett, H.S. : *Note on an Inscription Found in Kashmir*, J.A.S.B., 1880, XLIX, 16-20.

Kak, R.C. : (1) *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933.

(2) *An Outline of the History of Kashmir*, J.I.H., 1926, IV, Part 3, 29-42, 1928, V, Part 1, 1-19.

Kapur, M.L. : *A History of Medieval Kashmir*, Jammu, 1971.

Kaul, A : (1) *The Kashmiri Pandit*, Calcutta, 1924.

(2) *History of Kashmir*, J.A.S.B., 1913, IX, No. 5, 195-203.

(3) *Life Sketch of Lalleshwari*, I.A., 1921, L, 302-12.

(4) *Some Additions to the Lalla-Vakyani*, LV, 1930, 108-13, 127-30.

(5) *A Life of Nand Rishi*, I.A., LVIII, 1929, 194-98, 221-24, LIX, 1930, 28-32.

Khosla, Sarla : *History of Buddhism in Kashmir*, Delhi, 1972.

Kilam, J.L. : *A History of Kashmiri Pandits*, Srinagar, 1955.

Krishnamachariar, M. : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937.

Krishna Mohan : *Damaras, Kashmir Research Biannual*, Vol. I, 1960.

Lal, K.S. : *History of the Khaljis*, Allahabad, 1950.

Lane-pool, S. : *Catalogue of the Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum*, London, 1883.

Lawrence, W.R. : *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895.

Leitner, G.W. : *Dardistan, Kashmir, Little Tibet and Ladakh* (1866-93), London, 1976, 1907-8.

Loewenthal, I : *Some Persian Inscriptions Found in Kashmir*, J.A.S.B., 1964, XXXIII, No. 3, 278-90.

Mahdi Husain : *Tughluq Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1963.

Majumdar, A.K. : *A note on the Chronology of the Sultans of Kashmir in the Ain-i-Akbari*, J.A.S.B., 1956, XXII, 85-97.

Majumdar, R.C. : Editor

(1) *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954.

(2) *Vedic Age*, Bombay, 1951.

(3) *Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay, 1960.

(4) *Struggle for Empire*, Bombay, 1957.

Maqbul Ahmad : *India and the Neighbouring Countries in the Kitab Nuzhat Al-Mushtaq Fi'Khtiraq Al-Afaq of Al-Sharif Al-Idrisi*, Leiden, 1960.

Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes : *Muslim Institutions*, English tr. by J.P. Macgregor, London, 1968.

Mohibbul Hasan : *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Srinagar, 1974.

Nagarjan, K. : *Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature*, Bangalore, 1970.

Nazim, M. : *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Delhi, 1971,

Newell, D.J.F. : (1) *A Sketeh of the Mahomedan History of* Cashmere, J.A.S.B., 1854, XXIII, 409-60.

(2) *Some Account of the Rishis and Hermits of Kashmir*, J.A.S.B., XXXIX, 1870, 265-70.

Nicholls, W.H. : *Muhammadan Architecture in Kashmir, Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1906-07, Calcutta, 1909.

Parmu, R.K. : (1) *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, (1320-1819), Delhi, 1969.

(2) *Some Aspects of Muslim History under the Shah Mirs and the Chaks*, P.I.H.C., 16th Session, 1953, 194-200.

Petech, L. : *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, I.H.Q., (Supplement), Vol. XV, 1939, 1-178.

Qureshi, I.H. : *The Administration of the Sultanate of* Delhi, Karachi, 1958.

Ray, H.C. : *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1931-36.

Ray, S.C. : *The Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1957.

Rieu, C. : *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, 3 Vols., London, 1879-83, (Supplement, 1895).

Rodgers, C.J. : (1) *The Copper Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir*. J.A.S.B., 1879, XLVIII, 277-88.

(2) *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of* Kashmir, 1889, J.A.S.B., LIV, 92-139.

(3) *Rare Kashmir Coins*, J.A.S.B., LXV, 223-25.

Sadaat, Mufti Muhammad Shah : *Bulbul Shah Saheb* (Urdu), Lahore, 1941.

Sahni, D.R. and Francke, A.H. : *References to the Bhottas in the Rajatarangini*, I.A., 1908, Vol. 37, 181-92.

Saran, P. : *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, Allahabad, 1941.

Sarkar, Jadunath : (1) *Shivaji and His Times*, 1948.

(2) *Condition of Kashmiri People Under Muslim Rule*, Nehru Abhinandan Granth, 1949.

Saxena, K.S. : *Political History of Kashmir*, (B.C. 300—A.D. 1200), Lucknow, 1974.

Sharma, S.R. : *Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism*, Lahore (undated).

Siddiqi, A.H. : *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia*, Lahore, 1942.

Sircar D.C : *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1960.

Stein, M.A. : (1) *Memoir on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, J.A.S.B., LXVIII, 1899 (Extra No. 2), 1-232.

(2) *A Sanskrit Deed of Sale Concerning a Kashmirian Mahabharata* MS., J.R.A.S., 1900, 187-94.

Sufi, G.M.D. : *Kashir*, 2 Vols., Lahore, 1949.

Syke, P. : (1) *History of Afghanistan*, Vol. I, London, 1940.

(2) *History of Persia*, Vol. II, London, 1958.

Temple, R : *The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess*, Cambridge, 1924.

Tripathi, R.P. : *Some Aspects of the Muslim Administration*, Allahabad, 1936.

Tritton, A.S. : *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, London, 1930.

Varma, D.C. : *History of Bijapur*, New Delhi, 1974.

Walter, H.A. : *Islam in Kashmir*, *The* Muslim *World*, 1914, IV, 340-52.

Whitehead, R.B. : *The Gold Coins of Kashmir*, N.C. J.R.N.S., (London), 5th Series, 1933, XIII, 257-67.

Wilson, H.H. : *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms and Useful Words*, London, 1855.

Yar Muhammad Khan : *The Use of Artillery During the Sultanate Period*, Islamic Culture, Vol. XXXV, (No. 3), 1961.

Vidyalankar, J : *Bharatiya Itihas Ki Mimansa*, Jullundur, 1960.

INDEX

(*References are to the text only*)

Abbasids 57, 96, 98, 221
Abdul Qadir 198
Abhimanyu 99, 158
Abhira 55
Abul Fazl 25, 32, 106, 126, 129 134, 193
'aBumlde IV 52
Achalamangala 2
Adam Khan 47, 50, 51, 53, 99, 100, 101, 108, 155, 156-178
Afghanistan 12, 57
Africa 1
Agraharas 138, 139
Ahmad Raina 119
Akbar 66, 82, 85, 97, 129, 186, 212, 222
Ala-ud-din, Sultan of Kashmir, see Ali Sher
Ala-ud-din Husain Shah 222
Ala-ud-din Khalji 95
Ala-ud-dinpur 11, 141
Alexandar 212
Al-Harun 212
Alberuni 54
Ali Shah 16, 24, 27, 29-36, 44, 46, 49, 66, 67, 68, 71, 73, 93, 104, 120, 174, 178, 185
Ali Sher 8, 9, 10, 11
Allama Jarullah Zamakhsheri 197
Al-Sultan-ul-Azam 135
Amareshpura 139
Amarnath 80
Amatya Parishad (Mantri Sabha) 101, 102
Amir Shah 6
Amravati 140
Ananta 2, 5
Anantanag (Islamabad) 193
Andarkot 5, 9, 142, 164
Apsaras 79
Arabs 1, 2, 3, 110, 116, 117
Arabic 13, 196
Archaeological Survey of India 196
Ardhavana 130
Arjuna 6
Asia 1
Asoka 82, 115, 212, 216
Attock 26
Aurangzeb 66
Avantipura 10, 130
Avatara Bhatta 74, 189, 191
Ayurvedic 194

Baba Bam-ud-din 186
Baba Haji Adham 183, 184
Baba Hasan Mantagi 183, 184
Baba Latif-ud-din 186
Baba Nasir-ud-din 186
Baba Usman Ghanai 183
Baba Zain-ud-din 186
Babur 84
Bactrian 117
Badakhshan 12
Baghdad 98
Baharistan-i-Shahi 52, 75, 153
Bahram Khan 47, 155 156, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167
Bahram Shah Ghaznavi 3
Bahyadesavanih 108
Balkh 184, 197
Baltis 53
Baltistan 11, 51, 53, 92, 128, 155, 217

Banasurkatha 191
Bandarapal 119
Baramula 14, 137, 141, 162
Bengal 55, 222
Bernier 67
Bhakti Movement 76, 183
Bharvi 189
Bhatta Bhiksana 9
Bhauttas 11, 51. 53
Bhimbhar (Chibh) 92, 121, 154, 159
Bhurja 106, 126, 181
Bijapur 222
Bijbihara 184
Billa Deva 32, 36, 45, 46
bLo-gros-mchog-lden 52
Bod Shah 85, 220
Bokhara 203
Brahmanas 9, 16, 29, 68-70 73-76 82, 104, 122, 125, 138, 139, 158, 159, 220
Buddha 51, 73
Buddhagira 11
Buddhist (ism) 8, 52, 75, 104, 122, 136, 218
Budil 6, 7
Buhlol Lodi 46, 55, 217
Bulbul Shah 103
Butshikan 220

Cairo 96, 98
Caliphs 1, 57, 96, 97, 98, 221
Caliphate 96, 98, 136
Central Asia (n) 1, 3, 12, 15, 57, 84, 179, 203
Chaitra 78, 163
Chaks 9, 116, 119, 139, 152, 153, 154, 155, 180
Chamara 97, 98, 103
Chandalas 175, 176
Chandra Damara 11
Chandrapida 1
Chaturvarna 174
Chhatr 97, 98
China (ese) 1, 2, 196
Chinga 11
Dachanpur 193
Dal Lake 129, 135, 138, 142, 182, 216
Damaras 177, 178
Damascus 1
Dara Shikoh 66
Dard(a) 2, 137, 152, 180
Dardistan 12, 152
Darood Giri 56, 143
Darvishes 103
Darya Khan 102, 122, 214
Delhi 12, 14, 36, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 54, 55, 92, 95, 97, 100, 103, 116, 179, 217
Desadhipati 110
Devaswami 106
Dharmadhikara(n) 103, 104, 106, 218
Dharmashastras 70
Dhivar 181
Dhwaja 98
Didda 112
Dipalpur 14
Diya 124
Dombas, Doms 124, 175, 176
Dranga 118
Drav 153, 154
Drungpa Ali 52
Dugarseha 56, 198
Dulacha 7, 8
Durga 195
Dvarapati 10

Egypt 42, 57, 96, 97, 98, 136, 173, 221
English 27, 143
Europe (an) 1, 31, 129, 202

Faqirs 103, 186
Fars 58
Fath Khan (Shah) 101, 165
Fatehpur Sikri 196
Fatawa 221
Fiqh 192
Firdausi 190
Firishta 25, 36, 160

Firuz, Chief of Ohind 24
Firuz, son of Sultan Sikandar 16
Firug Shah Tughluq 12, 54, 116, 179

Gabbar, Gabhar 7
Ganachakra 78, 141
Ganak Prashast 174, 175
Gananapati Gaurak 121
Gananadhipati 105
Gananapati, Gananaswami 105, 218
Gananadhipatisthana 105
Gandhara 53, 53, 92, 217
Gandharvas 79
Ganga, river 119
Ganga, warrior 159, 175
Ganjavara, Ganjwar 105
Garbharapura 6, 7
Gaurabhatha 28, 29
Ghaznavites 2
Ghazni 11, 12
Ghoris 2
Gilan 42, 57, 173
Gilgit 12
Gita Govind 77, 81, 198
Guge (Gogga) 52
Gujarat 56, 143, 173, 194, 203
Gwalior (Gopalpur) 56, 173, 198

Habib 117, 188
Hadis 192
Haidar, 8, 9, 100
Haidar Malik 32, 52, 84
Haidar Shah 25
Haji Khan 27, 47, 49, 50-53, 75, 98-100, 102, 105, 108, 109, 116-118, 143, 155-67 175, 178, 181, 195, 197
Hamadan 13
Hamsabhatta 28, 29
Hanafi 9, 93
Hanjis 181
Hari Parvat 130, 165, 184
Harivansh Purana 191
Harsha 4
Hasan, historian 11, 44
Hasan, Treasurer 105, 167
Hasan, Sultan Qutb-ud-din's nephew 12
Hasan Khan 51, 108, 164, 167, 197
Hasan Thakur 100, 119, 159, 166, 179
Hatakesvar Samhita 77, 188, 193
Helmat Raina 51, 119
Herat 139, 187, 193
Hilala (pura) 140
Hindal 12
Hindukush 12
Hindus 3-5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 26, 29, 37, 39, 48-50, 67-84, 92-94, 98, 101, 102, 104, 121, 122, 124, 125, 133, 136, 138, 142, 143, 163, 166, 173-76, 179, 182, 184, 185, 189, 190, 192, 193, 198, 200-02, 204, 218, 220, 221
Hinduism 3, 8, 67, 70, 71, 185, 220
Hinduvat 53
Hirapura 48, 159
Hisham 1
Hiuen Tsang 176
Husain Thakur 100, 119, 159, 166, 179

Ibrahim 54
Ibrahim Adil Shah II 222
Idgah 29
Ilm-ul-Kalam 192
Ilm-ul-Tawhid 192
India (n) 2, 14, 26, 27, 31, 75-77, 84, 91, 92, 94, 116, 117, 134, 163, 173, 174, 176, 182, 195-99, 217, 222
Indus river 14, 26, 92 162
Iran(ian) 6, 173, 197, 198
Iraq 58, 116, 195
Islam(ic) 1-3, 7, 8, 12, 13, 16, 40, 47, 48, 52, 57, 66, 67, 69-71, 83-85, 92-94, 96, 97, 103, 124, 125, 128, 174, 175,

178, 179, 185, 192, 196, 200, 220, 221, 222

Jagadeva 4
Jahangir 48, 93, 116, 129, 134, 138, 179, 186, 215
Jainacharita 191
Jainaprakasa 191
Jainamani 127
Jaina-Rajatarangini 80, 189
Jainasara 128
Jainavilasa 191
Jalalabad 11
Jami Masjid 12, 130, 141, 199, 200
Jammu 12, 14, 26, 32, 33, 36, 44-47, 69, 155, 165, 217
Jam Nizamuddin 57
Jamshed 8, 9, 10
Jasrat (Raja) 48, 49
Jasrat Khan, Zain-ul-Abidin's son 47, 155
Jasrat Khokhar 30, 34-37, 43-46, 55, 217
Jatta 19
Jayapidapura 11, 78, 138, 140, 141
Jayasimha 2, 4, 49, 50, 92
Jayya Bhatta 68, 74, 100
Jehlam (Vitasta) 10, 54, 70, 78, 91, 107, 108, 130, 131, 136, 137, 139-41, 144, 162, 180
Jizya 15, 16, 69, 71, 97, 134, 221
Jnan Vasishtha 77
Jonaraja (Jyotsanakara) 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 25-31, 47, 63, 70, 74, 91, 100, 122, 123, 174, 175, 177, 189, 190
Jullundur 45
Julius Caesar 212
Junaid 1

Kabul 12
Kaimuh 184
Kalasha 3, 4
Kalhana 4, 5, 91, 130, 152, 175, 176, 178, 182, 188, 189, 203
Kalidasa 188
Kalima 136
Kaliyug 79
Kanauj 188
Kanch Damara 107, 108, 137, 178
Kangra 11
Karala 130, 138
Karkota 2
Karnataka 55
Karpur Bhatta 74, 99
Kashghar 51, 52, 73, 116, 119
Kashmiri 9, 82, 84, 106, 187, 190-93, 213, 219, 221
Kashshaf 197
Kathakautaka 189
Kavaral 154
Kayasthas 177
Khanqah 141
Kharaj 126
Khasas (Khakhas) 7, 9, 116, 180, 181
Khataband 202
Khilats 98, 163
Khizra Khan 45
Khokhars 36, 43, 46, 55, 58, 101
Khonamuh 182
Khurasan 42, 58, 117, 173, 195, 198-200
Khutba 9, 93, 97, 98
Khuyahama 143
Khwaja Sadr-ud-din Khurasani 141, 200
Kifayah-i-Mujahidiyya 194
King's Court 102, 104, 121-24
Kiosks 139
Kiratarjuniya 189
Kiratas 175, 176
Kirtiseha 56
Kishanganga 128
Kishtwar 7, 12, 69, 121, 128, 184, 190
Kokal Tash 109, 154, 155, 181

Konkan 55
Konsarnag 80
Koorjian 181
Koses 106
Kota Devi 7, 8, 9
Kramarajya (Kamraj) 8, 10, 106-9, 121, 140, 153, 160-2, 171
Ksatriyas 29, 174, 175
Kubraviya Order 183
Kul Sunaman 130
Kulodharna 137
Kuther 6
Lachan Kul 130
Ladakh(i) 7, 12, 14, 49, 51-53, 73, 92, 116, 127, 128, 213, 217

Laddaraja 28, 29
Lahore 45
Lakshmaka 10
Lalitaditya 1, 2, 92, 99, 130
Lalkul 130
Lalleshwari (Lalla Arifa) 11,67
Langar Chak 152, 180
Langarkhanas 137
Lar 51, 130
Laula Damara 11
Lavanyas 9, 10, 161, 177, 178
Lidar 80, 130
Lodis 217
Lohara 2, 12, 49, 51, 92, 141, 157, 158, 164, 178, 180, 217
Lohara dynasty 4
Loharakotta 50
Lolaraja 122
Ludhiana 45

Madhumati 79
Madina 67, 184
Madrasat-ul-Ulum 101, 193
Magres 9, 116, 152, 179, 180
Madavarajya (Maraj) 106-09, 118, 154
Mahabharata 6, 188
Mahanayaprakasa 192
Mahapadma Lake, see Wular Lake
Mahapratiharapida 99
Mahattama 104, 218
Mahimshri 214
Mahmud Ghazni 2
Mahmud Khalji 1 56, 213
Mahmud, Sultan of Gujarat 56
Makhdumah Khatun (Bod Khatun) 155, 197, 214, 215
Maladeva 46, 47
Malik Autar Chand 36, 51, 52, 74, 116, 119
Malik Daulat Chand 36, 74, 116, 119
Malik Masud Thakur 51, 100,
Malik Shaikh Khokhar 43
119
Mallasila 117, 120, 158-60, 175
Malwa 55, 56, 173, 213
Manas 130
Manasbal 130, 140
Manikya Deva 165
Mankha 189
Mansur bin Muhammad 194
Mar Canal 70, 130, 131
Martand 80, 129, 130
Mathas 73, 136, 139, 174
Maulana Ahmad Rumi 187
Maulana Ahmad Kashmiri 100, 187, 188
Maulana Fatehi 187
Maulana Ishaq 121
Maulana Kabir 25, 26, 67, 187, 193
Maulana Mir Muhammad Rumi 187
Maulana Nadiri 32, 100, 187
Maulana Nur-ud-din 14
Maulana Ziai 187
Mazar-i-Salatin 167
Mecca 31, 32, 42, 57, 124, 125, 173, 197, 218
Meraj 24, 25
Mewar 57, 173
Midpur 130
Mir Khan 16, 24
Mir Khush Ahmad 102, 203
Mir Qaisar 30, 35, 124, 125

Mir Sayyid Mahmud 48, 203, 204
Mir Sayyid Nasir Baihaqi 48
Mir Shams-ud-din Muhammad Iraqi 83
Mir Thakur 180, 121, 124, 179
Mir Vais Baba 183, 184
Mirak Sayyid Hasan 48, 109, 119, 154
Miran Sayyid Nasir 109, 154
Mirza Abu Said 58, 217
Mirza Haidar Dughlat 84, 126, 139
Mlecchas 2, 34
Mohibbul Hasan 6, 71
Mongol 7, 11, 51
Mongoloid 176
Moorcroft 143
Mubarak Shah 45
Mughals 34, 53, 84, 97, 134, 152, 196, 204
Muhammad 24, 33, 214
Muhammadans 52, 152, 185
Muhammad b. Qasim 1
Muhammad Din Fauq 27
Muhammad Khan 102, 103, 156
Muhammad Magre 44, 51, 119, 180
Muhammad Shah 50, 55,109
Mukhya Mantri, see Wazir
Mulbe 53
Mulla Ahmad Allama 103
Mulla Ghazi Khan 193
Mulla Jamal 199
Mulla Jami 189
Mulla Jamil Hafiz 195
Mulla Parsa 139
Mulla Zada 198
Multan 2, 12
Mumluks 97
Muslims 1-5, 8, 9, 13, 15, 29, 30, 34, 35, 47, 50-54, 57, 66, 67-73, 77, 79, 82-84, 91, 93, 96-98, 102, 118, 120-22, 125, 134, 141, 155, 176, 178, 179, 183, 185, 189, 190, 192, 193, 196, 201, 204, 205, 217-22

Nafla Teng 185
Nagaradhipa 107
Nagaradhikrta 107-9, 189-91
Nagarkot 3
Nagayatra 78, 141
Nagin Lake 129
Naib-i-Amir-ul-Muminin 57, 84, 96, 97, 136, 221
Naisadha 189
Nala Mar 131
Nalanda 188
Namaz 185
Nandashaila 129
Napoleon 212
Narahari 189, 190, 194
Narendra Seha 190
Nasik 55
Nasrat, Laddaraja's son 39
Nasrat, the Sultan's favourite 124
Nasrat Shaikh Khokhar 43
Naubhandhana 77, 80, 163
Nauhatta 141
Naushahr 26, 150, 187, 193, 19;
Naushahra 48, 92, 108, 109, 154, 181, 217
Nicholls 196
Nilamatpurana 77, 80
Nonaraja 122
Nottha Bhatt 108, 162
Notthosoma Pandit 74
Numan 12
Ohind 11, 14, 24
Pakhli 11, 155, 188
Pampur (Padmapura) 128, 137
Panchagahvara 6, 7, 93
Pandavas 6
Panditas 79
Pandu Chak 152-54, 180
Panjgabbar, see Gabbar
Parmu 6, 33
Partha 6
Persia 13, 15, 48, 57, 84, 121, 173, 179, 195, 198, 200, 203

Persian 6, 7, 11, 24-27, 30, 31, 48, 66, 77, 82, 84, 98, 106, 135, 142, 166, 187, 188, 189, 190-93, 196, 199, 202, 213, 218, 219, 220, 221
Phag 142, 197
Phirya Damara 158, 178
Pir Panjal 35, 48, 154, 158, 180, 217
Plato 212
Pohur 130, 139
Pradvivak 121, 128
Pradyumnagiri 138, 165
Pratihara 99, 157, 158
Prithvirajavijaya 189
Punch (Parnotsa) 108, 162, 164, 367
Punjab 2, 3, 30, 34, 43-46, 55, 132
Puranas 77, 188, 193, 195

Qandahar 12
Qarlagh 155
Qarun 212
Qayam-ud-din 54, 92, 214, 217
Qazis 83, 103, 104, 121, 179, 220
Qazi Jamal 121, 187
Quran 25, 192, 197
Quru Shah 7
Qutb 188
Qutb-ud-din 12, 13, 24, 50, 93, 112, 192
Qutb-ud-din Mahmud Shirazi 6
Qutb-ud-dinpur 12, 166 167

Rainas 116
Rajanaka 99, 157
Rajanaka Jayanaka 189
Rajanighantu 190, 194
Rajapuri (Rajauri) 6, 32, 34, 36, 48, 49, 92, 93, 108, 134, 154, 158, 180, 217
Rajasthaniyas 9, 10, 177
Rajpur 130
Rajputs 34, 50, 57, 116, 159, 174, 175, 179, 184
Ramachandra 7
Ramananda 76, 183
Rana Kumbha 57
Rana Seha 49
Ranaswami 130
Rastradhikarin 108, 109
Ravatralavala 157
Rawalpindi 54
Rig 99, 157
Rinchana 5, 7, 1, 9, 100
Rinchanapura 11
Rishis 184. 186, 191
Rodgers, C. J. 136
Royal Stable 97, 98, 116, 167
Rum 187
Rupalanka 142
Rupyabhatta 74
Ruyya Bhandapati 72, 74, 105, 141
Ruyyabhatta 92

Sabzwar 48, 179
Saif-ud-din (Suhabhatta) 15, 16, 27-29, 73
Sajistan 58
Salar Sanz 184
Salhana Acharya 191
Samarqand 14, 26, 27, 43, 58, 139, 194, 197, 202, 203
Sangramaraja 2, 4
Samhita 77
Sangit Chudamani 56, 198
Sangit Sangrah 190, 198
Sanskrit 188-93, 195, 212, 213, 218, 219, 221
Sanyasi 183
Sarada 6, 18, 79, 114
Sarvadhikara, see Wazir
Sati 71, 134
Satlej 11
Saurashtra 56, 173
Sayyids 83, 103, 109, 116, 139, 179, 184, 217, 220
Sayyid Ali 194
Sayyid Ali Hamadani 13, 15, 93
Sayyid Hasan, a Sufi 183
Sayyid Hasan, general 51, 52,

Sayyid Hasan Bilad Rumi 183
Sayyid Mahmud Baihaqi 155
Sayyid Makk 71
Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani 13, 15, 25, 41, 137
Sayyid Muhammad Luristani 187
Sayyid Muhammad Madani 137, 139, 183, 184, 195, 197, 200-02
Sayyid Sistani 187
Sayyid Sultans 45, 46, 55
Sayyid Ullah 122, 124, 125, 218
Shadipur 131
Shahi Khan 16, 24, 26-31, 33, 37, 46, 97
Shahjahan 152
Shah Mir(s) 3, 5, 6-11, 92, 93, 98, 103, 152 180, 195
Shah-nama 190
Shah Rukh 58, 195, 217
Shaikh Baha-ud-din 183-85
Shaikh Ismail Kubraviya 193
Shaikh Nur-ud-din 16, 26, 67, 184-6, 191
Shaikh-ul-Islam 15, 84, 97, 103, 104, 122, 124, 187, 221
Shams-ud-din, see Shah Mir
Shankarapura 75, 137
Shaivite 1
Shariat 15, 97, 103
Shastras 77, 82, 102, 193, 221
Sheh 51, 52, 75, 116, 117
Sher Thakur 124
Shihab-ud-din 6, 11, 12, 24, 46, 50, 51, 54, 92, 112, 192
Shikayat 166, 188
Shirahshataka, see Shihab-ud-din
Shirya Bhatta 67-69, 71-74, 102, 104, 105, 121, 122, 130, 136. 193, 194, 214
Shiva Bhatta 100
Shobha Devi 16, 24, 26, 46, 54, 67
Shura 11, 100
Shurapura 137, 159
Sialkot 30, 34, 43, 101, 193, 217
Siddhaksetra 182, 183
Siddhapuri 73, 76, 136, 140, 183
Sidhas 76, 140
Sikandar 13-16, 24, 26, 27, 43, 44, 46, 51, 54, 57, 67, 68, 70-73, 76, 83, 84, 91, 93, 103, 104, 120, 121, 124, 134, 135, 141, 173-75, 178, 184, 192
Sikandara 186
Sikandarpur 14
Simha 74, 105
Simha Bhatta 80, 81
Sind 1, 56 213
Sind, river 130, 131
Sindhu 24, 53-55, 92, 162
Singh, Raghunath 47
Sino-Tibetan 176
Sir 193
Siraj-ud-din 10
Sita Kantha 192
Siva 3, 26, 73, 80, 136
Solomon 212
Sonalanka 142
Sopor, See Suyyapura
Sri Harsa 188
Srikanthacarita 189
Srikanth Kaul 183
Srinagar 10, 29, 70, 106-9, 131, 137, 138, 141, 154, 180, 182, 185, 199, 200
Srivaka, Sriva 190, 197
Srivara 24, 25, 27, 44, 70, 71, 74, 77, 78, 80, 81, 91, 100, 117, 154, 158, 174, 175, 177, 189, 190, 197, 188
Stein, M. A. 134, 177, 182
Sudras 133, 174, 175, 220
Sufis 16, 26, 67, 84, 85, 94, 103, 183, 184, 191, 221
Sufiana Kalam 197, 199
Suhabhtta, see Saif-ud-din
Suhadeva 5, 7, 8, 152, 180
Suhrawardiya 183
Sunnis 9
Suprasamana 158

Suresvari 75, 140
Surtranpur 105, 140
Suvarna 130
Suvarnamani 130
Suvarna Seha 119, 159, 175
Sayyapura 10, 106, 101
Swadgabar 7
Swadgir 6, 7
Swat 6, 11

Tabriz 139
Tafsir 192
Tahir Ali 7
Tajtantresa 158, 159
Taksasila 188
Tara 71, 198
Tarabal 7, 167
Tarjama-i-Iqlidas 7
Tash-hir 124
Thakurs 29, 33, 34, 116, 155, 179
Thanna 34, 36, 45, 51, 120
Thatta, see Thanna
Tibet (an) 42, 51, 52
Tilak 74
Tilakacharya 75, 102, 104, 105, 122, 218
Timur 13, 14, 26, 27 , 43
Tirthas 80
Toshamaidan Pass 2, 158, 217
Trahgam 153
Transoxiana 193
Tsar-i-Sharif 185
Turani 198
Turfans 1
Turks 1, 2, 3, 165
Turkish, Turki 3, 6, 116
Turkistan 84, 103, 195, 198, 203
Uccala 4
Udayashri 12
Udabhandapura 24, 53,54
Udayanadeva 8, 9, 10
Ulama 71, 73, 83, 92, 94, 103, 178, 179, 220
Unani 194
Upper Indus Region 11
Utpalapur 129
Utsava 79, 198
Vaishnava 76, 198
Vaisyas 174, 175
Valmiki 77, 78
Varanasi 75
Vasishta Brahmadarshana 88
Vasishta Ramayana 88
Venetian 3
Viharas 109, 110, 136
Vijayesvara 80, 163
Vijayesvari 137
Vinna Thakur 124, 214
Visayas 109, 110, 136
Vishnu 80, 81, 85, 94, 220
Vishulata 167
Vitasta, see Jehlam
Vrihatkathasara 188, 193
Vyath Truvah 78
Wazir 102
Whitehead, R.B. 136
Wular Lake 130, 137, 140, 142, 144, 180
Yavanas 35, 51, 74
Yodha Bhatta 74, 189-91, 198
Yoga 76, 94, 182, 214, 215
Yogis, Yagini 11, 76 ,79, 81, 84, 94, 124, 182, 183, 218
Yusuf Shah Chak 104
Yusuf U' Zalaikha 189
Zafar Nama 27
Zainaganga 130, 138
Zainanagari 130, 138, 139, 161
Zainagiri 73, 94, 126, 129, 130, 139, 153, 154, 193
Zaina-Kadal 137, 180
Zainakotta 105, 140
Zainakundala 105, 140
Zainalank 74, 105, 137, 143, 197, 215
Zainapattan 105, 140
Zainapuri 138
Zainasara 137
Zainatilaka 49, 140
Zain-ud-din 14
Zarb-i-Kashmir 135
Ziarat 184, 185
Zimmis 97, 220
Zoji-la Pass 7, 51, 217

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
3	18	grls	girls
15	1	Jama	Jami
15	8	Savyid	Sayyid
36	31	Jarsat	Jasrat
44	1	wsa	was
51	21	Hilmat	Helmat
62	18	Drangpa	Drungpa
72	37	Rupyabhanda	Ruyyabhanda
74	30	Rupybhanda	Ruyyabhanda
74	33	Jaya	Jayya

पुस्तकालय ★ डाक्टर

306.08
Z895

His reign was remarkable as much for administrative efficiency, religious tolerance, and cultivation of extensive foreign contacts, as for the cultural exuberance and socio-economic progress of a very high order. A monograph, which this work endeavours to present, was therefore a longfelt need which the author has fulfilled in "a very commendable manner."

Bhargava Offsets, Varanasi.

about the book ....

"......an interesting, informative and useful contribution to the study of the history of Kashmir. The [author] has taken pains to analyse the basic material carefully and thereby he has successfully rectified the lapses of his two predecessors in the field, Dr. R. K. Parmu and Prof. Mohibbul Hasan. He has done it with the humility of a seasoned scholar, which speaks of his culture. In this way he has given proof of his critical approach to the subject and his praiseworthy tendency not to accept the earlier views blind-fold.... [It] is an original piece of research, and contribution to knowledge. The [author] has command over language and expression...."

—Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena
Formerly Professor and Head, Department of History
Allahabad University.

"It is indeed surprising why such a fruitful field of historical research had been left unploughed....Shri Zutshi's work is indeed a very welcome addition to our stock of knowledge. The way he has handled his material....and documented his conclusions, the way he has presented them analytically and objectively, the sober and mature language he has expressed his facts in all, mark him out as a promising historian."

—Dr. Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya
Formerly Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian
History and Archaeology, Vikram University, Ujjain.

"Despite the many-sided and remarkable achievements of this ruler of Kashmir, no scholar..has yet presented a comprehensive evaluation of the life and deeds of this fascinating personality. Shri Zutshi has fulfilled this long-felt need in a very commendable manner. He has based his [work] almost entirely on contemporary and later primary sources. His conclusions are analytical, sober, and mature. I venture to say that this [work]..will bring credit not only to himself, but also to the Department to which he belonged."

—Dr. R. N. Nagar
Formerly Professor and Head, Department
of Medieval and Modern Indian History,
Lucknow University.

NUPUR PRAKASHAN
JAMMU. LUCKNOW.

Rawal Kutir,
Jain Bazar,
Jammu (Tawi)

Ayodhya House,
4, Valmiki Marg,
Lucknow